THE CULTURES AND GLOBALIZATION SERIES 3

CULTURAL EXPRESSION, CREATIVITY & INNOVATION

Edited by

HELMUT ANHEIER

YUDHISHTHIR RAJ ISAR

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HELMUT ANHEIER
YUDHISHTHIR RAJ ISAR

Guest editor
Christopher Waterman

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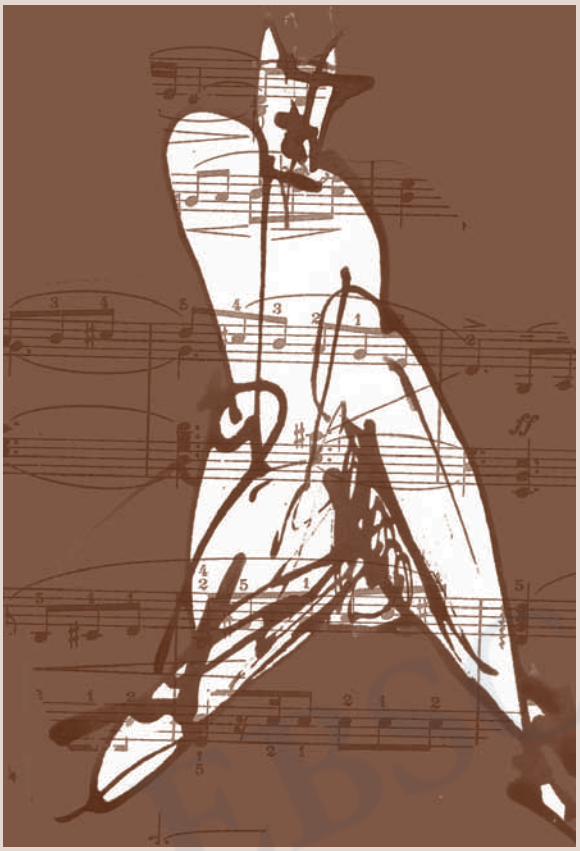
FOREWORD

Stuart Hall



This collection of essays follows through the line of inquiry opened up by the two previous volumes in *The Cultures and Globalization Series*. The aim of the series is to track the complex inter-relations between globalization and culture in its many forms in the contemporary world. Volume 3 identifies a particular site of such interactions defined by the inter-relationships between three aspects of the wider question: creativity and innovation, cultural expressions and globalization. The essays and papers collected here offer, from a variety of perspectives, a rich exploration of this field. They present a diverse set of examples and deepen our understanding and conceptualization of the complexities involved in these relationships.

The three terms are fully defined in the wide-ranging introductory essay which frames the volume. Here, we try to set the stage for that investigation by looking briefly at the way the concepts have undergone significant changes of meaning in recent years and how these shifts affect their field of operations in the contemporary period. Creativity refers to the capacity, through imagination or invention, to produce something new and original (hence its close relationship to innovation). Innovation underscores the role which the idea of novelty has come to play in modern creative practices and the high value accorded to originality, Modernism's injunction to 'make it new', the significance placed on breaking traditions and the construction of radically new forms. Cultural expressions refer to the many forms in which the values, experiences, ideas, identities, beliefs, hopes, achievements and aspirations of a people or social group find expression and take significant – and signifying – form. Globalization marks the emerging inter-relationships and inter-dependences – economic, political, cultural – between different societies and parts of the world. Its contemporary form defines the new terrain on which cultural practices interact and the 'global' character which creativity, innovation and cultural expressions assume in their contemporary form.

In western culture, much reinforced by Romanticism, creativity has been associated with the gifted individual, touched by genius, who is uniquely capable of bringing aesthetic expression to a high pitch of excellence. This excludes many of those civilizations in which the association of creativity with the individual is not so strong (which,

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of course, does not mean that individual practitioners have not been of significance in cultural practices and expression). In western societies, creativity implying a social group, rather than an individual authorship, is relatively new. More recently the terms creativity and innovation have been expanded to include many fields other than the aesthetic; and, more recently still, assimilated to technological, commercial, managerial practices, in self-inflating and commodified ways which make them virtually unusable.

All these terms have been significantly redefined in recent decades and in general the principal shift of direction is from the individual to the social and collective. This reflects the application of sociological and anthropological concepts to cultural fields, originally thought of primarily in aesthetic terms. It entails the shift from 'culture' as the sum of particular works, texts and objects which constitute an ideal order against which universal judgements of value can be made – what Matthew Arnold once called 'the best that has been thought and said' – to what Raymond Williams called the *social* definition of culture: 'a particular way of life which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour'[1]: culture as 'ways of life'. This has shifted the location of cultural creativity and expressions, from the domain of high culture to the terrain of the popular, collective and everyday life.

The redefinition also has to do with the transformation – one might even say the collectivisation or 'massification' – of social processes, which emerged in developed western societies at the end of the nineteenth/beginning of the twentieth centuries. This process has given us such terms as mass production, mass society, mass politics – and of course, mass media, mass communication and mass culture. It marked the reorganization of social production and consumption along more 'Fordist' lines, and was facilitated by the rise to dominance of the new mass technologies of culture. In his famous essay, 'The Work of Art In The Age Of Mechanical Reproduction', Walter Benjamin, anticipating the explosion in visual culture which was to come in the twentieth century, saw *film* as one of the earliest manifestations of this collective and technological transformation. He identified this not only in terms of the collective nature of cultural production and its relationship to its audiences but also in terms of the effects he predicted this would have in destroying what he called the 'authenticity' associated with the idea of 'originality' in art, the detaching of the work from, and the shattering of, tradition, and the destruction of the 'aura' of the individual artist and the individual work of art, still very much alive and kicking today. Theodor Adorno called these new technologies 'the cultural industries' but he intended to contrast these typical products of an 'administered', one-dimensional mass society with the critical and dialectical function which he thought could only be performed by the individual artist and the work of art. Though the tensions between high, mass and popular culture continue to resonate in cultural debates, few would find it possible these days not to regard these new media and technologies as potential sites of creativity and innovation. So when we say creativity, innovation or cultural expressions today, we must be conscious of the fact that we say them, as it were, *after* these great transformations in meaning, technologies and relationships have occurred.

Globalization is the most radically transformed and transforming of all the terms. Ever since the moment of European exploration and conquest at the end of the fifteenth century, (which Marx identified as the beginning of a struggle to make the globe 'a world market'), there have been successive waves of what can only be called 'globalizations'. And since they involved, in different forms, conquest and the crossing of frontiers, the clash of cultures and traditions and the exercise of power in the 'conscription' of traditional cultures to modernity, they still have something important to tell us about what happens to cultural processes when distances, societies and economies are brutally condensed. However, there is nothing to compare with the scale and depth of contemporary globalization. The time–space condensations, the new global division of labour, the speed of the flows of capital, investment, profits, goods, services, images, messages

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Note

1 Williams, Raymond (1945) *The Long Revolution*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

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INTRODUCTION

Yudhishthir Raj Isar and Helmut K. Anheier

A triad of terms

The relationships between cultural change and globalization remain inadequately understood. Often reduced to the seemingly one-way impact of globalization processes on the world's cultures, these relationships are in reality reciprocal and far more complex and multi-faceted: for one, cultures do shape globalization processes and patterns, and vice versa; what is more, the relationships in turn involve many interactions with economic, political and other factors as well – be they the impacts of regulatory environments, financial flows, migration, technology or social inequality. Addressing the richness of these relationships in the context of contemporary developments is the main purpose of *The Cultures and Globalization Series* (see text box for more details).

Our third volume takes up the relationships between cultures and globalization with respect to 'cultural expression, creativity and innovation'. Why this particular combination of terms? The question is not difficult to answer, but before doing so we first need to remind the reader of the two previous themes. The inaugural theme of the *Series*, 'conflicts and tensions', addressed the broad understandings of culture as a 'ways of life' or identity-based concept, as commonly employed in the social and human sciences. The exponential growth in affirmations of, or claims to, cultural difference in the face of the forces of globalization has given rise to multiple 'conflicts and tensions' in recent years. These various manifestations of identity politics loom large in current anxieties. As we put it, 'behind the concern for "culture" that is increasingly evoked in contemporary public debate lurks the specter of conflict: the cultural dimensions of conflict on the one hand, and the conflictual dimensions of culture on the other' (Anheier and Isar, 2007: 19). By contrast, the 'cultural economy', our theme in 2008, related rather more to the 'arts and heritage' understanding of culture. Here it was a question of the 'substantive centrality' (Hall, 1997) of goods and services based on cultural content, or outputs with significant aesthetic or semiotic content. In this case as well, the issue appeared to hinge upon global imbalances and/or divides. Given the existing patterns of market domination how can all societies possibly produce such 'symbolic outputs'? In both cases, authors analysed the variegated landscape of cultural change in relation to globalization. They demonstrated the ways in which this complex interplay between cultures and globalization is at once unifying and divisive, liberating and corrosive, homogenizing and diversifying. The relationships also crystallize both positive aspirations and negative anxieties. The interplay transforms patterns of sameness and difference across the world, and modifies the ways in which cultural expression is created, represented, recognized, preserved or renewed. It also contributes to generating powerful new culturalist discourses that evoke 'the power of culture' – both in relation to conflictual phenomena (our topic in 2007) or when the cultural is at once a resource and a vector of major economic flows (the theme in 2008).[1]

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Cultures and globalization: the knowledge gap

While a substantial evidence base has been developed on the economic, political and social aspects of globalization, the cultural dimension continues to be the object of many unsubstantiated generalizations and unquestioned assumptions. This is the key knowledge gap the *Series* is designed to fill. The complex, two-way relationships between cultural change and globalization have remained largely uncharted empirically and under-analysed conceptually. One reason for this dual neglect at the global level is that conventional understandings of culture are still connected principally to the sovereign nation-state. However, today this nexus of culture and nation no longer dominates: the cultural dimension has become constitutive of collective identity at narrower as well as broader levels. What is more, cultural processes take place in increasingly 'deterritorialized' transnational, global contexts, many of which are beyond the reach of national policies. Mapping and analysing this shifting terrain, in all regions of the world, as well as the factors, patterns, processes, and outcomes associated with the 'complex connectivity' (Tomlinson, 1999) of globalization, is therefore a main purpose of this *Series.*

In sum, the *Series* aims to meet three goals: to highlight key contemporary cultural changes and their policy implications; to channel and encourage cutting-edge research; and to contribute to the development of information systems in the field of culture. In so doing, it will seek to build bridges between the social sciences, the arts and the humanities, and policy studies. Indeed, our approach is based on our awareness that the social sciences and the humanities have become too compartmentalized – a state of affairs that we seek to overcome by the kind of inter- and cross-disciplinary thinking required for a project of the kind proposed here that seeks to explore the nexus of cultures and globalization. We therefore encourage 'out of the box' thinking and approaches that cut across established disciplines and methods. The present volume, as with the others in the *Series*, is more than a compilation of separate conceptual chapters. An analytical framework and a set of over-arching questions spell out the organizing principles and substantive priorities. The present volume is also more than a compendium of country or 'area' studies. While such aspects are important, they take second place here to a pronounced transnational, comparative and evidence-based perspective as our key signature.

A key factor responsible for the knowledge gap in the field of cultures and globalization is the paucity of comparative information. It is for this reason that, alongside the 'narrative' chapters, all based on freshly observed empirical phenomena, each volume of the *Series* includes a significant data section. Departing from conventional approaches, we have developed a new way of compiling, analysing and presenting quantitative data on specific aspects of the cultures and globalization relationship. These 'indicator suites' make up Part 2 of the volume and are based on the premise that much information on many facets of the cultures and globalization nexus is already 'out there,' but is not being processed in appropriate ways. Another point of departure is that for most readers interpretative information graphics are far easier to understand than 'raw' data in tabular form. Initiated in 2007, the methodology has been refined with each successive volume. More details will be provided in Part 2, which, among other topics, presents indicator suites on aspects of cultural expression, creativity and innovation, with a special emphasis on hybridity.

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Now let's turn to the theme of the present volume. Current cultural discourse has turned the notions of 'creativity' and 'innovation' into keywords in recent years – although neither figured in Raymond Williams's classic (1988) reference work on the subject. Indeed, the two terms have been taken up enthusiastically by advocates, analysts and policy makers alike, particularly with reference to the cultural economy; both terms have become crucial to how the latter is represented, and represents itself. The notion of creativity draws heavily, though not exclusively, on artistic quality, but in a specifically modernist reading: 'the shock of the new, the disruptive, the counter-intuitive, the rebellious and the risk-taker' (O'Connor, 2007: 32). Yet today, judging from the many ways creativity is evoked, it is no longer the privileged domain of art and artists. Instead, the organization of cultural commodity production on a mass industrial scale seems to have pushed artistic practice into the sidelines – despite the continuing popular veneration of the artist as demiurge. Hence it appeared essential to us to continue the *Series* by refocusing on cultural expression, almost as if it were the missing player at the table. We say *cultural expression* deliberately, instead of 'the arts' or 'artistic creation', because the latter two terms foreground the *individual* creative act or impulse, whereas today the emphasis is placed equally on *group* manifestations. Besides, in many organizational milieus (art and design schools or architectural collaboratives), genres (film, theatrical and musical performances) and in non-Western societies more generally, artistic work can be a collective project, not just an individual one. This last point is important because the notion of creativity is still tinged with mystical overtones – as Jason Toynbee points out in Chapter 7, 'the individual artist is the locus of creativity, and her/his genius consists in extraordinary powers of autonomous expression'.

However, as several other chapters in this volume demonstrate, creativity is arguably much more a matter of 'social authorship' than transubstantiation of the soul or expression from within. This has long been recognized with respect to the cultural traditions of Asia, where creativity 'involves a state of personal fulfillment, a connection to a primordial realm, or the expression of an inner essence or ultimate reality' (Lubart, 1999: 340).[2] But in the West as well as in the East, a more sociological awareness is now called for. There has been a tendency to think of creativity and innovation as things ineffable, embodied only in the individual, as the emanation of an inner inspiration. But recent thinking opens up the analytical frame to include the sociocultural context, interpreting creativity in conjunction with collective action and defining it as a process in which novelty is recognized and acknowledged collectively. As the anthropologists observe, their discipline needs to 'contribute to debates around creativity by challenging – rather than reproducing – the polarity between novelty and convention, or between the innovative dynamic of the present and the traditionalism of the past, that has long formed such a powerful undercurrent to the discourses of modernity' (Ingold and Hallam, cited by Svašek, in Chapter 5 below).

At the intersection, then, of cultural expression on the one hand, and creativity and innovation on the other, understood in both its individual and social manifestations, our motivations were threefold. First, we wished to analyse the interactions between globalization and arts practice (or, more broadly, cultural expression). Second, we wished to better understand the interactions between the forces of globalization and the emergence of creativity and innovation in cultural expression itself. Third, we sought to join up the two sets of questions. How are artistic practice and behaviour evolving in relation to globalization? Within cultural practice, how is globalization shifting the ground in which creativity and innovation arise and are nurtured? Whilst questions about artistic creativity and innovation are not new in aesthetics and cultural sociology, the encounter with contemporary globalization takes such questions to a different plane. It creates new conditions of great potential as well as challenges of at least equal magnitude; also it makes a far more broad-based perspective on these matters indispensable. These motivations crystallized before we learned that the European Parliament and Council would label 2009 the European Year of Creativity and Innovation with the combined goals of raising awareness of the importance of creativity and innovation for personal, social and economic development, disseminating good practices, stimulating education and research so our project precedes the EU's, it does not follow it.

In sum, the choice of the topic 'cultural expression: creativity and innovation' to follow the volume on 'the cultural economy' is based on the following reasons:

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i) cultural expression provides the basic human inputs to the cultural economy, and particularly so in the 'creative industries';
ii) the predominance of the cultural economy in current policies and practices is transforming the conditions for creative cultural expression itself, how it takes place and unfolds;
iii) this transformation has both negative and positive consequences, as it encourages some forms of cultural expression and discourages others, opens up new opportunities for some and marginalizes others;
iv) throughout this process, creativity must be identifiable and become recognized as such, and requires innovation processes to become culturally and socially sustainable as well as economically viable, while at the same time;
v) globalization generates new frameworks for creativity and innovation in cultural expression that vary across fields and genres.

'Creativity', 'Innovation'. We are all too aware of the inflated, and often imprecise, uses of these two terms, particularly in the popular management literature as well as in some cultural policy work.[3] Writing as long ago as 1971, Raymond Williams pointed out that 'no word in English carries a more consistently positive reference than "creative"… yet, clearly, the very width of the reference involves not only difficulties of meaning, but also, through habit, a kind of unthinking repetition which at times makes the word seem useless' (1971: 19). More recently – and more polemically – John Tusa has observed (2003: 5–6):

> *'Creative', 'creation', 'creativity' are some of the most overused and ultimately debased words in the language. Stripped of any special significance by a generation of bureaucrats, civil servants, managers and politicians, lazily used as political margarine to spread approvingly and inclusively over any activity with a non-material element to it, the word 'creative' has become almost unusable. Politics and the ideology of ordinariness, the wish not to put anyone down, the determination not to exalt the exceptional, the culture of oversensitivity, of avoiding hurt feelings, have seen to that.*

What kind of creativity and innovation?

Despite and indeed because of such difficulties, we confine ourselves essentially in this volume to the notion of creativity in cultural expression broadly understood, a field in which its meaning is relatively unambiguous, rather than extending it to practically every sphere of human and social endeavour. We take creativity to be the generation of novel ideas and artefacts; innovation is the process by which new ideas and artefacts lead to new cognitive and behavioural practices such as genres, ways of going and organizing, conventions, models, etc. In much of the current cultural policy literature, however, particularly in relation to city planning and management, the concept of creativity is used both more broadly to encompass far more than the arts (see, for example Florida (2002), and more loosely as well (for example Landry, (2000)). Such usages are somewhat metaphorical, lacking the kind of analytical rigor displayed by the recent boom in creativity research in the natural sciences through to psychology and other cognitive sciences. Different approaches have analysed individual creativity in a broad range of task domains, including of course the arts (Sternberg and Lubart, 1999), linking them to the societal as well. Hence our advocacy of an essentially sociological perspective, rooted in the interactions between individual and society rather than in the individual alone, where Eureka or 'Aha' moments are sufficient to convey the idea of the creative act.

We have been able to take a cue here from confluence approaches to the study of creativity in contemporary psychology (Sternberg and Lubart, 1999), foremost among which is the 'systems perspective' pioneered by Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1996; 1999). Here the interactions between, first, the creative person, second, the domain (a specific cultural symbol system) and third, the field (defined as made up of domain gate-keepers such as art critics, gallery owners, star performers, etc.), are what determine the emergence and in particular the *recognition* of a creative act or product. The creative individual takes information in a domain and transforms or extends it; the field validates and selects the new ideas and methods; the domain then in turn preserves and transmits creative products to other individuals, societies and generations. In this perspective, says Csikszentmihalyi, 'creativity is any act, idea or product that changes an existing domain, or that transforms an existing domain into a new one' (1996: 28). As Howard Gardner has shown, 'the development of creative projects may stem from an anomaly within a system (e.g., tension between competing critics in a field) or moderate

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asynchronies between the individual, domain and field (e.g., unusual individual talent for a domain)' (1993, cited in Sternberg and Lubart, 1999: 10).

Similarly, research in organizational sociology and management demonstrates that creativity and innovation emerge at the crossroads of social, cultural and political forces, and more frequently at the margins and boundaries rather than at the centre of systems, be they political entities, organizations or professions (Nelson and Winter, 1982; Pettigrew and Fenton, 2000). Studying the question of how organizations evolve, Romanelli and Tushman (1994) introduce the notion of punctuated equilibriums to refer to discontinuous transformations. They assume that organizations pass through relatively long periods of stability in terms of structure and activity. These are punctuated by short bursts of fundamental changes during revolutionary periods, triggered when several key organizational domains are threatened or otherwise become critically uncertain, particularly in terms of available resources. In response, some but not all organizations will seek to adapt by introducing changes in terms of strategy, structure, incentive and control systems, as well as power relations that are more far-reaching than would have been the case otherwise. Organizational theorists suggest that revolutionary periods are times of greater creativity and improved innovation performance in those organizations that manage to break the structural and cultural inertia of embedded routines.

Cultural creativity, too, is surely embedded in social, cultural, and political phenomena and is related to specific configurations in terms of structure, power and meaning. However, while embedded, creativity seems, at the same time, more likely to be fostered in situations of change, tension and discontinuity, when overlapping and criss-crossing configurations create interstitial spaces. In the context of globalization, the question is: what happens to these configurations and relationships? That is the question many of our authors address, while others focus more exclusively on cultural expression alone.

In relation to this usage, we should recall the working definitions of the two central concepts that we have adopted for this *Series*, drawing largely on the systematic coverage proffered by Held et al. (1999). We take *globalization* to be the highly accelerated movement of objects (goods, services, finance and other resources, etc.), meanings (language, symbols, knowledge, identities, etc.) and people across regions and intercontinental space. In other words, the various processes of time–space compression. The working concept of *culture* we have adopted is the following:

> *Culture is the social construction, articulation and reception of meaning. It is the lived and creative experience for individuals* and *a body of artefacts, symbols, texts and objects. Culture involves enactment and representation. It embraces art and art discourse, the symbolic world of meanings, the commodified output of the cultural industries as well as the spontaneous or enacted, organized or unorganized cultural expressions of everyday life, including social relations. It is constitutive of both collective and individual identity.*

Creativity and innovation in cultural expression

To be sure, creativity continues to manifest itself as an individual product, in which latent and manifest talents, expertise and serendipity combine in often seemingly unpredictable ways. Yet alongside and perhaps gradually superseding this image of the individual genius kissed by the muse is a new one: it is based on the understanding that the likelihoods of creativity to emerge, of creative acts to be recognized, and of both leading to innovation, yielding sustained change, are all closely linked to the organization of economy and society as well as patterns in the cultural domain itself.[4] In other words, art is itself a 'set of historically specific ideas and practices that have shifted meanings across the course of the centuries' (Errington, 1998: 63) and creativity varies across cultures. And as cultures interact with globalization the ensuing cultural change in turn enriches or impoverishes the conditions in which creativity can emerge.

As Stuart Hall (1997) has observed, the means of producing, circulating and exchanging cultural products and processes have been dramatically expanded in our time through new media technologies and the information revolution. Directly, a much greater proportion of the world's human, material and technical resources than ever before goes into the 'cultural' or 'creative' industries sectors, while indirectly these have become the mediating element in every other process. Moreover, as a result of today's technological upheaval, the nature and

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forms of cultural expression are changing profoundly. Take, for example, the world of virtual reality in which actors are free to make choices and play roles normally unavailable to them in the social world of everyday life and in which technology turns many individuals into 'creators' themselves. From the personal computer and digital camera to the cell phone, humankind inhabits an increasingly networked world in which communication and personal expression and development reign supreme. YouTube, for example, offers those so inclined the possibility of directing and producing their own movies, while Karaoke machines have unleashed the inner singer within each of us and the literary shibboleth of the day is 'Every blogger is a star'.

Yet what are the standards by which creativity is identified and assessed; how do we know if something is truly novel? Do the creators themselves care about standards, or are creative acts more play for entertainment than work inspired by the muses, and more about escaping the status quo than changing it? Market-driven phenomena may well be creating new figures of the symbol creator as a 'motor of innovation' and altering the profile of the 'creative subject'. The World Wide Web with its attendant domains of the internet and cyberspace may signal a 'brave new world' to some, though beyond its virtual borders significant areas nevertheless still manifest age-old problems – a persistent scarcity of food, shelter and clothing haunts the planet. Does artistic creativity today channel in relation to this dark side of things some of the visionary edge that has energized the arts since the Enlightenment? Artistic creativity, according to Adorno (1991) and other critical thinkers, reveals and helps us appreciate the possibility of a better world – be it through literature, music, painting or other genres.

What happens to this premise in the face of the globalized cultural industries? In this volume, our authors also interrogate the perceptions of globalization as a threat to 'diversity', as it erodes cultural identity and distinctiveness across the world. This 'homogenization-produced-by-cultural-imperialism' view takes it for granted that distinctive repertoires and potentials of creative expression are being eliminated by globalization. Yet many observers point to the processes of re-pluralization that are occurring, dialectically, as the values of different ways of life have risen into consciousness and have become the rallying cry of diverse claims to a space in the planetary culture. 'Before, culture was just lived. Now it has become a self-conscious collective project. Every struggle for life becomes the struggle of a way of life' (Sahlins, 1994: 6).

While the changing relationships between creativity and diversity are particularly clear in domains such as literature, the visual arts and music, the politics of identity maintenance practised by governments tend to privilege not just the arts but also the audiovisual sector and more broadly, the cultural industries (as was analysed in the 2008 volume of *The Cultures and Globalization Series*). The core tension between current opportunities and threats is now enshrined in the 2005 UNESCO *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, whose Preamble observes that 'while the processes of globalization … afford unprecedented conditions for enhanced interaction between cultures, they also represent a challenge for cultural diversity …' The very process of globalization of communication makes the maintenance of cultural identity more difficult.

Although the cultural imperialism thesis may be an oversimplification, the question remains as to the real nature of the new repertoires of cultural expression that appear to be emerging. What is the true composition of the hybridities and intercultural fusions that are being produced? Should we expect a global culture that resembles 'the eclectic patchwork we are witnessing in America and Western Europe today – a mixture of ethnic elements, streamlined and united by a veneer of modernism on a base of scientific and quantitative discourse and computerized technology'? (Smith, 1992: 573). Are globalized consumer industries moulding motifs as well as tastes, and thereby steering most of the creative talent and innovation their way? It is clear that many aspects of contemporary Euro-American cultural expression, especially popular music, films, videos, fashion and some foods, are being spread worldwide in the guise of consumer commodities, art styles in media and tourism – well illustrated by Barber's stark (1995) imagery of *McWorld*. Or are we moving towards a multi-polar world of cultural expression with competing centers, as Allen Scott suggested in the 2008 volume of this *Series* (Scott, 2008)?

Yet at the same time, expressive forms from many other places are exerting a trans-national influence, and encouraging creativity and innovation, often in hybrid forms that work with, or blend in

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with, Western and other forms and repertoires that are now being re-interpreted in terms of locally specific perceptions, understandings and styles. These new hybridities involve adaptations that are often accompanied by the often very self-conscious rediscovery of and return to indigenous expressive forms; while such processes of culture-based identity building have been ongoing since the nineteenth century, there can be no doubt that they have multiplied exponentially in our time, often occurring with sufficient depth and force to occasion the 'conflicts and tensions' we explored in 2007 (Anheier and Isar, 2007).

Images and pictorial representation have never been more dominant in day-to-day life. No longer is the circumscribed world of art and art history capable of decoding and interpreting the extremely visual culture that environs us. Strategies of representation are no longer, if they ever were, neatly divisible into the 'seeable and the sayable'. Art critic Gerardo Mosquera, a contributor to this volume, wrote earlier of the world being divided into curating cultures and curated cultures (1994). The former have actively created narratives into which the latter would passively let themselves be inserted. Could it be that the forces of globalization continue to favour a 'one-way decoding' where 'other' cultures are translated into a standard lingua franca, generating easily swappable and exchangeable packets of virtual meaning? At the same time it may well be simplistic to pretend that globalization has not also had unintended spin-offs that empower and connect marginalized groups, communities and individuals in ways never before imagined. How, then, has popular or subaltern creativity globalized itself in different forms and avenues of cultural expression?

Finally, c*opyright*, as Sundara Rajan argues, is the 'legal face of globalization' subjecting creative products as intellectual 'property' to the strict legislation of their circulation and reproduction. In the past, it was argued that copyright was necessary in order to promote creativity; only by guaranteeing the creator or inventor's copyright could the author of a work be compensated financially for her creativity. Without this financial incentive, it was argued, the creative impulse would wane. Yet it is precisely the copyright regime and the organizations and interests that benefit from it most that seem subject to the punctuated equilibrium observed by the organizational theorists mentioned above. In other words, what was meant to protect and provide incentives for creativity now opens up new creative opportunities while also posing new threats.

There are other areas of cultural creativity, however, that would seem to resist trends towards greater use of property rights altogether and irrespective of the regulatory framework in place. These suggest the existence of other communal circuits of creativity that ought to be investigated. Humour as manifested in the jokes that circumnavigate public culture and recipes used in the preparation of food are two examples in the sense that they are not attributable to single authors or identifiable with particular property rights yet there is no dearth of new, innovative material in either of these areas. How can we learn more about the way creativity works in such domains and cultural commons more generally, and how are these affected by globalization?

Questions

Against this background, we posed several sets of questions as a 'brief' for those authors who would be contributing analytical chapters to Part 1:

- **Creativity.** What does creativity mean in a globalizing economic, cultural and artistic landscape? How does creativity manifest itself empirically, and what are the economic, sociological and cultural factors that help account for variations in creativity across genres, fields, regions, and societies over time? Are transnational milieus and clusters of creativity emerging? What institutions, organizations and professions as well as artistic, political or economic interests are behind such milieus, and how are they inter-linked? Is the changing 'map' of creativity related to the various drivers and patterns of globalization? How does cultural/artistic creativity differ from creativity in other fields, in particular the sciences, the business world and in politics?
- **Diversity of cultural expressions.** What are the dimensions and manifestations of diversity in cultural expression in terms of artistic languages, repertoires and practices? Are there diversifying genres, or fields, or regions or localities as well as professions and organizational systems or clusters? Conversely, are

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there fields and domains in which diversity is stable or even regressing? How are such patterns related to the other forms of globalization? What are the cultural, sociological, economic and political correlates of the nexus between creativity and diversity, and how is globalization affecting it?

- **Innovation.** What kinds of innovation are taking place in cultural expression? As globalization propels the growth of the increasingly powerful cultural industries, how are artistic languages, repertoires and practices being affected? Are the cultural industries factors of dynamism and growth for cultural expression or are they factors of constriction instead? What are the threats to the diversity of cultural expressions in this respect? To what degree does commodification stifle or foster creativity?
- **Artists as entrepreneurs.** The Western notion of cultural creativity has long celebrated what some analysts have called the 'cult of originality,' and the rejection of the past. In other cultures, by contract, artistic creation is closer to the shared, living identity and re-enactment of past lessons projected and made meaningful to the here and now. Are these visions converging? Is cultural expression increasingly becoming both individualistic and social, community-based entrepreneurship?
- **Hybrids.** What new hybridities are emerging? What sorts of boundary crossings, disruptions, flows and displacements are taking place in artistic practice? Is more cross-cultural collaboration being promoted in the contemporary global landscape? What organizational and/or collaborative forms have developed trans-culturally and what factors are encouraging and discouraging speciation processes? Are these hybrids stable, pointing to consolidations in the way creativity and innovation are institutionalized in inter-cultural or transnational contexts?
- **Agency and dominance.** In what forms are agency and dominance exerted in cultural expression today? How do certain actors seek to encourage, control or discourage creativity as a matter of policy? How do such effects occur unintentionally? Is cultural expression becoming homogenized across the world as a result of globalization? What countervailing forces are now challenging hegemonic tendencies? Who are the cultural-political entrepreneurs, institutions and organizations in this respect, and how are they achieving specific goals?
- **Outcomes.** Are some expressive forms and genres being marginalized, or becoming increasingly excluded, while others move to the centre of cultural attention, political salience and economic investment? Who and where are the 'winners' and 'losers'?
- **Policy implications.** Finally, what, are the policy implications that follow from the questions above, and what policy recommendations can be made at local, national and international levels as a result?

Responses

As in most such anthologies, not all of our contributors have addressed the questions exactly as they were asked. Most of them have addressed a subset of the questions above, and some have chosen to tackle other, perhaps equally important ones, that are also relevant to the issues at hand. The *Series* has always been eclectic in its embrace of many different disciplines and intellectual perspectives. It represents no single school of thought. It is also resolutely international in its coverage; in each volume we seek to explore the issues from a true world diversity of geo-cultural perspectives. Hence here too the sheer variety of apparent universals such as cultural expression, creativity and innovation is made plain by the diversity of contributions from all the world's regions. Although academy-based, our enterprise has always welcomed contributions from public intellectuals, journalists, activists and indeed artists. In this volume, as befits the topic, there are even more contributions from artists and/or arts activists than in the previous two; and precisely because artistic expression is the core issue, we are also pleased to include 16 extra pages of colour plates at the end of Part 1.

In line with previous volumes, we solicited and then organized the contributions under several different structural headings. The first set includes chapters tackling overarching, general issues across a range of genres or disciplines. Next, and by contrast, we have placed contributions that analyse issues that are specific or at least particularly salient in different world regions – though here too, it must be said, some of the phenomena

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described could well occur, although perhaps less strikingly, in any other part of the world. The third section includes chapters that deal with particular artistic genres or issues.

Overarching Issues

Appropriately for a volume which seeks to challenge the monopoly which the 'creative industries' discourse has acquired, Rustom Bharucha opens the *Overarching Issues* section with his 'Creativity: Alternative Paradigms to the "Creative Economy"' an essay that analyses the everyday traditional Indian art of floor-drawing, *kalam*, which is not linked to an individual artist, but to the cultural expression of an entire community which earns its livelihood through the perpetuation of this practice. He highlights creative principles like impermanence, ecology, and humility that are exemplified by this expressive language, which because it is also religious operates at both 'material and immaterial' levels. While it could be argued that a vast body of creative practices in the 'global South' are no longer as resilient as the *kalam* – and therefore, a policy for their preservation and the income generation of their custodians becomes mandatory – the articulation of such policy should come from the communities themselves. However, in the top-down expertise that marks the rhetoric and legislation of many policies that purport to preserve or strengthen cultural expression, people's considerations are all too often erased.

'Recognition and Artistic Creativity' is the topic Joni Maya Cherbo and Harold L. Vogel explore. Their treatment focuses on the USA, yet they also reject the methodological individualism of the Romantic solitary genius perspective. Inspired by Csikszentmihalyi's systemic approach, they foreground the importance of social recognition in the phenomenon of creativity. Even in contemporary Western society, artistic creativity is a high risk endeavour; most artistic products fail to cover their investment. Analysing the social context, the authors identify the various stages involved in the process of bringing an artistic work to fruition: origination, presentation/promotion, distribution and evaluation. At each stage various social factors can assist or hinder the reception of any artistic product. In different ways, these conditions are being enhanced by an increasing global interconnectivity between peoples, as technology enables and encourages access to new audiences and provides outlets for artistic careers.

Gerardo Mosquera's metaphor of 'walking with the Devil' further problematizes issues such as these. Based on his long experience as a leading international curator, his chapter analyses contemporary globalized art circuits. It explores the tensions between cultural homogenization and the countervailing efforts of new cultural subjects who are diversifying international art practice, and also discusses the new epistemological grounds in which artistic discourses unfold. The dramatic expansion in the creation and circulation of contemporary art has developed ever-increasing globalized art scenes while stimulating new local energies. However, instead of a global mosaic of distinct artistic practices, what we see is the plural construction of international art and its language. The Devil in his title is an allegory for hegemonic, internationalized Western metaculture (while God is the local and the singular): in an old fable, a peasant invokes both, contradictorily, in order to cross a perilous bridge. But in the new version of the fable, the Devil tells the peasant, 'Follow your own path, but let me accompany you, accept me, and I will open the doors of the world for you'. And the peasant, somewhat fearful, yet at the same time pragmatic and ambitious, accedes. Walking with the Devil has become a plausible strategy for visual artists everywhere …

Gilane Tawadros also walks the terrain of contemporary visual art in her chapter entitled '… But What is the Question? – Art, Research and the Production of Knowledge′, but interrogates this domain as a form of knowledge production. How does artistic knowledge production differ from text-based forms of research and knowledge production? she asks. What new insights or investigations are made possible by the processes of making artworks (or, indeed, of making exhibitions)? What are the implications of this for the ways in which we have traditionally understood and validated knowledge? How does globalization contribute to our understanding of visual art as a form of knowledge production? This chapter takes specific artworks and exhibitions as its 'evidence' base for exploring these questions and investigates the role that artworks and exhibitions play in the production of knowledge in a globalized world.

Maruška Svašek's 'Improvizing in a World of Movement: Transit, Transition and Transformations'

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sees improvisation as the key to interpreting how globalizing forces stimulate cultural production, appropriation and recontextualization. To what extent are these processes controlled, welcomed or criticized by the various actors involved? She argues that creativity should be measured across the entire production process, exploring the active embodied engagement of cultural producers with their work in progress and explores three projects in which two flag makers and one contemporary artist from Ghana have interacted with individuals and groups in Northern Ireland. Svašek defines 'transit' as the movement of people, objects and images across space and time; 'transition' refers to transit-related changes in the products of cultural production in terms of their meaning, value and emotional efficacy; 'transformation' concerns the dynamic ways in which people in transit relate to changing social and material environments. Through 'improvisation' they react to new challenges and demands, taking on contextually-specific roles and identities, and gaining various degrees of ownership over the working process and its outcomes.

Transit is also the concern of the West Indian political economist Keith Nurse, who recounts how the intersection of globalization and diasporas in our time has led to new geo-economic, political, social and cultural spaces that link societies, transcend the boundaries of nation-states and hybridize cultural identities. This domain shows how cultural influences move in many different directions nowadays, bringing about rather more artistic hybridization than homogenization. Much of the literature tends to see global flows principally in a North to South or core-to-periphery direction and fails to capture the tremendous impact of migration and the growth of contemporary diasporas on the North. While the periphery is greatly influenced by the societies of the core, the reverse is also the case and as a consequence it is critical to examine the counter flow, the periphery-to-core cultural flows. Nurse therefore analyses the transfer of popular culture forms from the Caribbean and Latin America to the North Atlantic on the basis of reggaeton, which has risen to prominence and influences Latino and worldwide youth audiences, and on the transnational success of Caribbean carnivals. He argues that diasporic cultures in general, often embodied in popular cultures, employ an 'aesthetic of resistance' that confronts and subverts hegemonic modes of representation and thus acts as a counter-hegemonic tradition to the geo-cultural constructions embodied in notions of empire, nation, class, 'race', gender, sexuality, and ethnicity. They express what Stuart Hall (1997) calls the 'redemptive move' … 'born of travelling, rupture, appropriation, loss, exile'. In this sense, the popular cultures of the diaspora are not just an aesthetic and commercial space where artistic expressions and psychic and bodily pleasures are enacted, represented and marketed, but also an arena where social values and meaning are put on public display, negotiated and contested. Nurse concludes that diasporic cultural expressions and practices facilitate aesthethic innovation as well as socio-political change in both receiving and sending countries.

Copyright, the main form of intellectual property in cultural production, has played a key part in globalization. Although it is presented as an unalloyed good by its powerful defenders in corporations and states, Jason Toynbee's chapter argues to the contrary that copyright is of dubious value. For in fact, he argues, the expansive copyright regime which characterizes the present era threatens vulnerable cultures – both traditional and hybrid – around the world. He refutes the conventional rationales for copyright, both economic and aesthetic, drawing supporting evidence from the cases of music making in Jamaica and Bollywood films. These surprisingly parallel examples suggest that creative cultures can flourish in, and may even depend upon, the absence of effective copyright. While IP has been expanding since the mid-1980s, no case has been made as to how extensive IP rights actually need to be in order to overcome the economic 'problem' of non-rival, non-excludable cultural goods. Copyright has grown longer, and covered more forms of cultural practice and technologies of replication. It has also extended its reach into the poorest countries of the world. Yet there is no evidence that we have seen a concomitant increase in creativity. Indeed, some economists argue that the current 'big copyright' regime is leading to less innovation in cultural markets.

Two essays on generic issues close this overview section. The first, 'Exile, Culture and Identity', consists of reflections on the part of a diasporized philosopher, Rasoul Nejadmehr, now a leading cultural actor in Sweden, whose itinerary has taken him from his native Iran to Scandinavia.

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He explores the cognitive values of being born in a nomadic family, of being a political exile and of organizing a music festival, *Culture in Exile*. The argument is that exile and nomadic thought are two key inter-connected features in a world characterized by movement and the dissolution of boundaries, where few stable positions can be adopted by the individual. Dislocation is a creative state of mind that enables a radical critique of the dominant discourses on culture and identity. Ever thought-provoking, the theatre scholar and cultural activist Dragan Klaic interrogates a raft of recent and ongoing manifestations of evil. How 'creative' are these behaviours on the part of both small and big time crooks who indulge in various forms of crime and destruction? Evil, affirms Klaic, can be surprising and innovative, but not creative. Creativity needs to be affirmed in its utopian core, in benefits to be shared as a common good. In this perspective, he sees combating climate change and its consequences as the major challenge to artistic creativity today.

Regional Realities

Paul Brickhill, a life-long cultural entrepreneur in Zimbabwe, opens the *Regional Realities* section with his treatment of 'The "Creator" as Entrepreneur: an African Perspective', an exploration of how artists across the continent have succeeded in creating a diversity of hybrid continuously evolving art forms and techniques in the face of grinding economic poverty and an extremely limited infrastructure, both of which have led to the large emigration of many others. How do those who stay and survive as artists make their livelihood? What is the social interplay between livelihood and the creative process? What types of connections and contradictions exist between African art and global influences? In what ways is African art both 'universal' and 'African'? A starting point for Brickhill is storytelling – in which artist and audience are interwoven – for this is how all African art is understood by Africans themselves. The historic migration of peoples has created an awareness of art as being transient, informed by memory, captured by stories, crafted by improvisation and retold in limitless variation of forms. While there is a distinctive connectedness between culture and social life in Africa, individual creative genius also drives the artistic process. The author looks at the ways the practices involved are imagined, lived and retained and linked to globalization, taking examples drawn from stone sculpture, township jazz, Ghanaian highlife, Afro-beat, Zimbabwean *mbira*, marimba, books and literature, stories and story-telling, youth poetry and Nigerian film.

In 'The Turn of the Native: Vernacular Creativity in the Caribbean', Annie Paul, a writer and critic at the University of the West Indies, takes up similar issues. In the island countries of the Caribbean, 'low-budget' people have creatively married oral traditions with the most advanced technology to create a highly mobile, popular, hybrid musical product that is competitive internationally with similar products from the most affluent societies. Utilizing the transistor set, the recording studio and the gigantic sound system, Jamaican music has disseminated itself to a multitude of audiences – spanning the local, the national, the regional, and the diasporic and transnational with an ebullience and success unmatched by the formal, official, 'standard' English-speaking circuits of culture. Jamaican music has also subverted standard notions of copyright, creativity and originality, adapting the Western music model to the new hybridities thrown up in the syncretistic plantation spaces of the Caribbean. The 'vernacular' that Paul uses refers precisely to subaltern practices of expressive engagement that reflect the dynamic, adaptive, character of Jamaican patois, in constant dialogue and negotiation with the diasporic, the transnational and the global.

The experience of socially conscious graphic designers is the topic of Huda Smitshuijzen Abifarès's chapter entitled 'Creative Contemporary Design in the Arab World'. Herself a skilled practitioner from the region, she sheds light on yet another variant of the encounter between locally anchored creativity and the challenges of globalization. Historically, the interaction of Arab peoples with others has shaped and consolidated the visual aspects of the rich traditions of Islamic art. This type of mixing and assimilation of foreign aesthetic repertoire is still part of the Arab visual culture. How are these creative practices being renewed today in the Arab world and in the Arab diaspora? The work of a new generation of cultural entrepreneurs, their networks and other cross-cultural collaborations, together represent a striving to shape visual culture in ways that capture and express contemporary

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identity, as young designers embrace Western design ideologies, yet subvert them to their own ends and needs. The resultant hybrid creative practices are being steadily recognized, building up a following, and putting into motion new forms of globalized creative production.

Cultural freedom, the artist's licence to express, comment and critique, is clearly under siege in many parts of the world. One of the factors working against artistic freedom is the perceived threat of 'contamination' by globalization. Political scientists Laurent Gayer, Christophe Jaffrelot and Malvika Maheshwari explore how in South Asia, Islamist and Hindu fundamentalist movements have exerted an ever stronger influence, introducing novel forms of 'cultural policing' that reject artistic freedom, and in the process erode the colonial legacy of judicial activism. They understand 'cultural policing' as all attempts at imposing ways of thinking and behaving on behalf of value systems pertaining to religion or morality that resort to symbolic or physical violence, blackmailing or any other form of constraint. Significantly, agencies of this form of governmentality are non-state actors – fundamentalist groups, guerrillas, militias – which may, however, be used by government in an indirect manner. In this sense, cultural policing represents a certain privatization of the implementation of law and order. Thus, in Bangladesh, India and Pakistan, writers, painters and filmmakers have been attacked for 'blasphemy and outraging religion'. They have also faced the wrath of the moral police for interpreting homosexuality and widow remarriage. The state apparatus in these countries has not necessarily protected the victims of this form of social control; in a sense cultural policing has become part of the state's authority. South Asia thus finds itself in the situation of negotiating permissible boundaries for artistic creativity, whose integrity is now more than ever dependent on the rule of law.

Taking us from cultural constraint to cultural change, Zala Volcic explores 'The Struggle to Express, Create and Represent in the Balkans'. How have peoples in the countries of the former Yugoslavia managed to symbolize the subsumption of politics to popular culture? Where once the landscape bristled with statues of political heroes and military leaders, now a new breed of statuary has emerged in the form of a bronzed homage to icons of the global pop culture: Bruce Lee, Bob Marley, Rocky, etc. Rather than dismiss these often kitsch sculptures as symbols of the victory of commercial culture at 'the end of history', Volcic sees them as evidence of a particular kind of cultural expression, creating *bricolage* in a region still searching for a twenty-first century sense of identity. What we are witnessing, the author suggests, is a global diffusion and a local creative appropriation of popular culture. At the same time, and taking a cue from geographers, she analyses the importance of various sites of mourning and remembering, exploring how new monuments are being built, how new holidays and ceremonies are being introduced, how new creative symbols are being developed, and how new hybrid identities are emerging.

Another general question is that of how certain discourses of creativity and culture become globalized. Geographer Lily Kong's 'Globalizing Discourses and the Implications for Local Arts' asks how the notions of 'creative economy' and 'global city' get diffused and circulated across the world. She is concerned in particular with two key elements of these discourses: the development of creative industry clusters and the attraction of the 'creative class' as residents. She asks how these Western European notions (cf. our Introduction to *The Cultural Economy* volume in 2008) have migrated into contexts which are generally quite different from their origins, and the implications of their importation for local creative cultural work. She examines the ways in which monumentality constitutes symbolic capital for the global city, evidenced, for example, in the development of urban mega projects, and interrogates the accumulation of cultural capital through the construction of a large-scale cultural infrastructure in the East Asian cities she observes. The global city, it is believed, must endow itself with cultural institutions such as museums, theatres and libraries, in order to support cultural activities, to exude cultural ambience, and to develop cultural 'ballast'. In the cities Kong has observed, as the creative class component of creative economy discourse and the monumental component of global city discourse intersect, the development of indigenous creative cultural work actually takes a back seat.

Genres and Issues

Peter Tschmuck's exploration of creativity in the music industry opens the *Genres and Issues*

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section both because it represents another 'take' on the creative industries discourse and because it also anchors the creative act in its broader political economy context. The history of the music industry since its emergence in the late nineteenth century reveals a business cycle in which different configurations – from tight oligopolies to highly competitive markets – correpond to different degrees of creative output. While during oligopolistic phases more or less one music style (Swing in the 1940s or superstar-pop in the 1990s) dominates the scene, in more competitive phases such as we are experiencing today there is a great diversity of music expressions. Tschmuck explores the interrelationship between changing industry structure and changing creative expression, and uses this to generate a model of innovation and creativity. He also explicates the new network of production, distribution and reception that dominates the music industry today, reconfiguring the relationships between artists, record labels, music publishers, concert promoters, property rights agencies, etc.

In 'Creative Communities and Emerging Networks', Clayton Campbell, a practising artist and pioneer of the global artists' residency movement, reveals analogous transformations in the not-for-profit arts sector, as he examines a range of networks and 'creative communities' founded by artists, and discusses how their formation is informed by artist practice. The 'divergent thinking' that forms a cornerstone of artistic creativity engages globalization in imaginative ways, as these alternative artist spaces construct new forms of international collaborations and partnerships. Campbell provides 'snapshots' of such alternative art centres and networks that take a holistic view of global thinking, share a common concern for social justice, and seek to replace the global models of market capitalism with the global principles of community and inclusion. Reading globalization from the vantage point of the creative artist, the chapter presents examples of how artists themselves are providing innovative templates for interaction, stimulated by the propensity in contemporary art-making towards collaboration and team building. These are communities and networks informed by the direct practice of the artist, and they are stimulating the growth of new kinds of inter-cultural connection.

Different sorts of 'creative spaces' are explored by Canadian scholars Nancy Duxbury and Catherine Murray. What are the forces structuring those sites which appear to foster new types of collaboration between and among individual creative acts? In these creative spaces the design of place, contextualization and aesthetics of space all have a strong bearing on creativity and innovation. This chapter outlines the conceptual underpinnings of creative spaces as physical, embedded places where creative production, exhibition and consumption occur. Their scale can range from the global hierarchy of cities, their emergent rivals and the satellite communities or cracks at the margins and boundaries of systems, to the sub-city-scale hubs and particular places of connection in which global and local flows of creativity and innovation mix and are facilitated. The chapter examines a knowledge production process consisting of ideas (embedded intelligences and imagination), planning (patterns of involvement and intervention), and policy (integration). The authors argue for a 'cultural ecology' that is constructivist, holistic, and based on both physical and social infrastructure. They argue that creative space-making as a policy subfield must more adequately incorporate issues of locality, sociality, cultural diversity, and equity while bridging disparate professional vocabularies or grammars of space.

Translation is central to understanding how cultural expression travels and is transformed. While much critiquing of the globalization of literature focuses on the hegemony – and homogenizing tendencies – of the English language, Stefan Helgesson's close comparative study of actual translation patterns tells a different story. Taking the Mozambican writer Mia Couto's work as its main example, this chapter on literary hybrids and the circuits of translation shows how each translation may allow different meanings and emphases to emerge. Even Couto's own writerly practice, with its hybridized language, can be read as a translation of sorts that addresses the consequences of an earlier globalization, i.e. colonialism. Hence, translation functions creatively and sometimes critically at many levels of a 'globalized' literature.

Digital culture is a 'brave new world' in the making, explored in this volume by the Brazilian dancer and performance theorist Ivani Santana, who discusses the reconfigurations of cultural expressions emerging as a result of the intertwining of visual and digital culture. Santana illustrates her argument with her personal experience of telematics, deployed in order to stage a dance spectacle with

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dancers and musicians in three different Brazilian cities: dance in Salvador and Brasilia, music in João Pessoa. In Brasilia the public watched the spectacle in a theatre where some dancers interacted with (the image) of their colleagues located in Salvador. While the public was present in Brasilia, the space in Salvador was configured as the studio of an 'intelligent stage'. The image of the video-scenography was processed in real time; the result on the Internet was the sum of these layers of images.

Creativity in fashion is so spectacularly at the forefront these days that our volume would be incomplete without an exploration of this domain. Mo Tomaney and Julie Thomas do not merely tread celebratory ground, however, for their concern in the 'Fashion and Ethics' chapter is to raise key ethical debates relating to the production and consumption of fashion and textiles in the context of fashion as a global industry. Fashion, by its nature and definition, gives clothing a status that represents more than just protection from the elements or modesty; rather, it is a vehicle for self-definition, a sophisticated form of self-expression that touches most people, while at its most expressive, clothing and fashion can be used as a creative instrument that emulates or becomes artistry or performance. The consumption of clothing is universal; however, the way people consume fashion is not. The authors also evoke possible new models for creative practice and fashion consumption in relation to craftsmanship, 'slow fashion', recycling, the second-hand clothing trade, and the clothing industry.

There is an interface between organizational creativity and innovation and the cultural sector. Private foundations have long claimed the privilege of more creative ways of working. In 'Philanthropy and the Promotion of Cultural Expression', Diana Leat addresses these claims, as she discusses the role of philanthropy in cultural expression, creativity and innovation. This interplay in the context of globalization is more complex than it might first appear. Foundations are indeed subject to global homogenizing trends in the way in which they work – their standards and processes – but that this does not (yet) necessarily imply a similar homogeneity in what they fund. While some philanthropic giving reflects homogenizing trends there are at least four factors that limit these: the variety of philanthropic structures; real and imagined legal restrictions restricting global reach; a variety of approaches and purposes in funding artistic and cultural expression; and the resistant creativity of, in particular, endowed foundations. In point of fact, foundations act as small but significant buffers against the centralizing tendencies of the global art and media markets; sources of both innovation and preservation, independent of the market; forces for increased democratization, access to and recognition of artistic and cultural expression and forms; and bridge-builders between traditions and cultures, and between competing frameworks for the evaluation and legitimation of the value of artistic endeavour.

Without straying too far from artistry, our core concern, we have chosen to highlight broader forms of expressive social behaviour by asking the Mexican cognitive scientist and digital researcher Eugenio Tisselli to explore the ways in which digital social networks can be seen as 'strategies of the imagination' – his chapter's title. These now pervasive networks offer tools enabling millions of users to publish online all types of content and personal information. Making 'friends' on these networks is as simple as pointing and clicking. Yet the participative facade of these online applications conceals a set of disciplining technologies for contemporary capitalism, he argues, where the apparent excess of socialization really stands for the multiplication of weak and disengaged relationships. His chapter explores how the standard modes of operation of digital networks can be and are being overridden through appropriation, and how this appropriation can lead to socially relevant innovation and change. An example is zexe.net: a project in which digital networks and technologies are appropriated and used by marginalized communities to speak out and raise public awareness about their specific issues.

Part 1 is brought to a close by Guest Editor Chris Waterman, a professional double-bass player and ethnomusicologist, currently Dean of the School of the Arts and Architecture at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). His own chapter is based on a set of vignettes reflecting different types of engagements between popular cultural expression and globalization processes. These range from a comedy/music group in pre-World War II Japan and their pastiche of American popular culture, to community musicians in rural Peru inserting commentary on 9/11 in their locally grounded creativity, and to a Yoruba taxi driver's intense emotional identification with the power of

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the praise poems sung at his father's funeral. For Waterman, all three examples testify to the prosthetic power of the many forms of cultural expression that cut across the local and the global, occupying the interstitial spaces, the in-between, and also challenging the established categories of cultural hierarchies and institutions.

These expressive forms, as well as all those discussed by the contributors to this volume, are living testimony to the ways in which cultures, instead of being taken as fixed essences, are lived and experienced as 'worldly, productive sites of crossing: complex unfinished paths between local and global attachments' (Clifford, 1998: 362, 365). These are the routes of a 'discrepant cosmopolitanism' that 'gives us a way of perceiving, and valuing, different forms of encounter, negotiation, and multiple affiliation in the place of simple difference'. Indeed it is these pathways of creative expression that challenge those global scripts of the culture concept itself, understood both as 'ways of life' and as 'arts and heritage', those conflated understandings that, as we observed in our Introduction to the inaugural volume of this *Series*, have generated such a range of expectations, anxieties and illusions across the world. The expectations are tied to what Stuart Hall (1997) has called the 'centrality of culture'. The anxieties arise from its frequent abuse, while the illusions are the result of overblown visions, of simplifications that are reductive, and readings that are instrumental. We can only reiterate our conviction that the expectations can be justified, the anxieties allayed and the illusions dispelled by the patient and methodical marshalling of evidence in informed and conceptually sensitive ways. It is our hope that this volume in its turn will contribute meaningfully to this task.

Notes

1 The theme for the 2010 volume is *'heritage, memory, identity'* and in 2011 the fifth volume of the *Series* will tackle the topic of *cultural policy*.

2 As O'Connor also observes, though, most traditional notions of art also emphasized skill, craftsmanship, balance, harmony, the golden mean, the middle way. All are qualities which tend to be excluded from this new use of creativity (2007: 32).

3 These include Brown and Dugiud (2002), Burt (2005), Kanter (1983), Kao (1991), and Landry (2000).

4 See National Bureau of Economic Analysis (2006) Symposium on 'New Ideas about New Ideas', 10–11 March 2006. Available at http://www.nber.org/~sewp/newideas.html.

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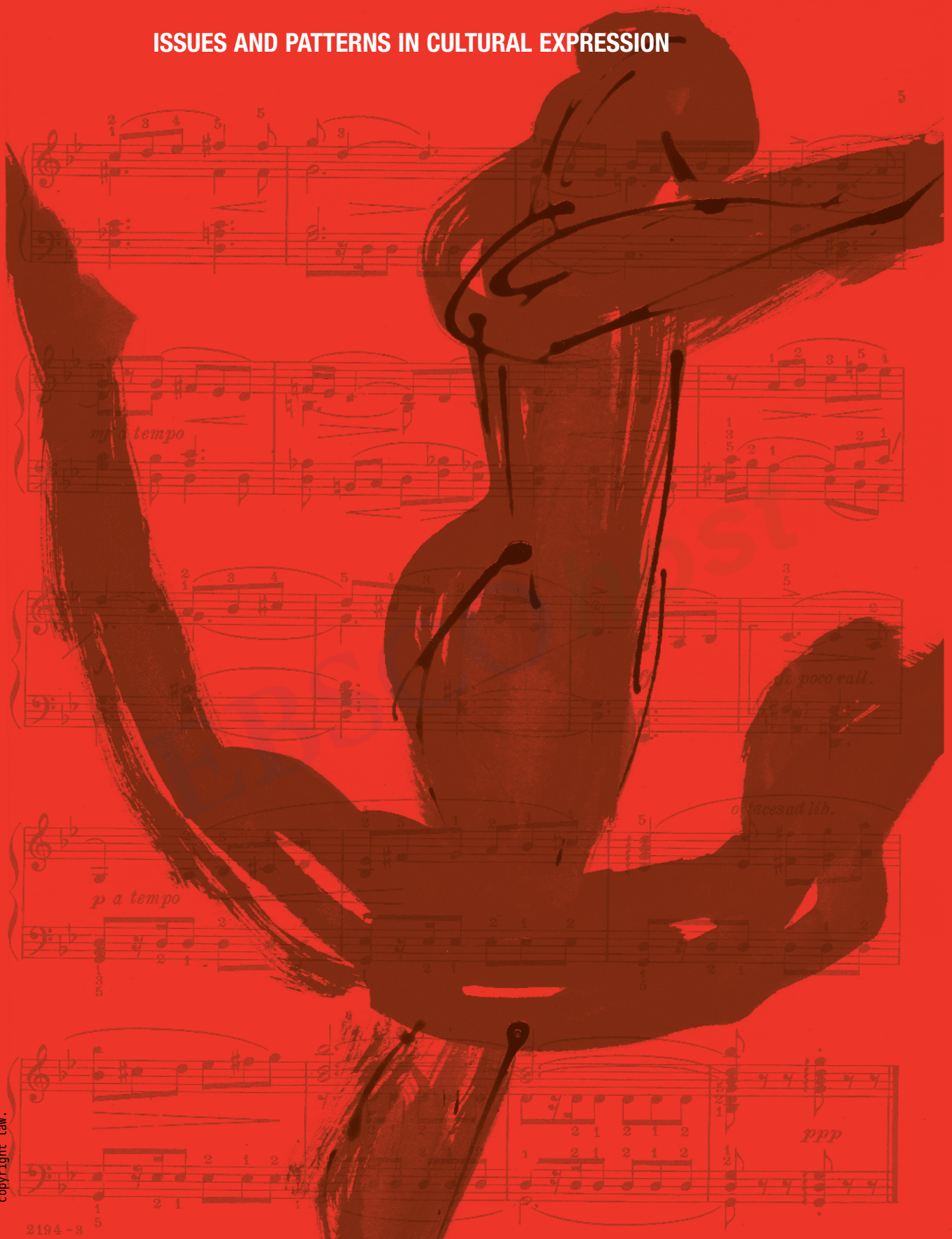
ISSUES AND PATTERNS IN CULTURAL EXPRESSION



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CREATIVITY: ALTERNATIVE PARADIGMS TO THE 'CREATIVE ECONOMY'

Rustom Bharucha

Building on the premise that creativity is not the prerogative of any particular class, any more so than it can be mobilized equitably by the pseudo-democratic and instrumentalist agendas of the state, this chapter argues against the appropriation of creativity within the premises of the 'creative economy'. In opposition to the profit-making propensities of the global market, it highlights creative principles like impermanence, ecology, and humility, drawn out of everyday cultural practices in the Indian context, notably floor-drawings. Complicating the argument, it does not rule out the possibilities of either the commodification or innovation of traditional artefacts through new modes of production and distribution, even as it upholds the need for context-sensitive economies. Highlighting alternative paradigms of creativity in the cultures of the 'South', the chapter concludes with a few reflections on how these paradigms can provide new directions for the shaping of a more dialogic cultural policy.

Against the growing discourse that has emerged around the 'creative economy' (Howkins, 2001), this essay reflects on 'creativity' through a web of intersecting concepts and practices. The 'creative economy' has been catalyzed by a series of theoretical interventions which have parasitically drawn on the 'culture industry' (Adorno, 1991), 'cultural industries' (Garnham, 2000; 2005), 'creative industries' (Caves, 2000; Hartley, 2004), the 'creative class' (Florida, 2002; 2005), and the 'cultural economy' (Anheier and Isar, 2008; Cunningham et al., 2008). Oscillating between 'cultural' and 'creative', 'industry' and 'economy', this nit-picking juxtaposition of terms has assumed discriminations and implications of power in policy-making and managerial services relating to the profit-making and social propensities of cultural goods and services. Increasingly, the dissemination of this discourse has assumed a global scale, which would seem to have increased in almost direct proportion to its media-driven and corporate hype. The purpose here is to work against this hype in order to highlight those particular modes and modalities of creativity in the cultures of the 'South' which do not lend themselves to the imperatives of the global economy, even as they seek out their own modes of sustainability within – and against – the logic of commodification.

Arguably, the 'creative economy' (and its concomitant 'creative industries' and 'creative class') have very little to do with the multi-dimensional complexities of creativity as it unfolds and manifests itself in a multitude of artistic and cultural practices. As used by a coterie of predominantly neo-liberal economists, the 'creative' component in the 'creative economy' is at best a catch-word, if not a logo, clubbing together distinct categories like

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'skill', 'talent', and 'innovation',[1] which masquerade an affinity to the world of artists but with no real evidence of the labour and imagination that go into art-making.

At one level then, the thrust of my critique in this essay is leveled against the appropriation and decontextualization of 'creativity' from its diverse manifestations as well as the phenomenological processes underlying artistic and cultural expression. At another level, however, I am equally concerned with the singularization of the creative economy within the strictures of the so-called 'knowledge economy' or 'information society', consolidated and driven by the technologies of 'copyright, patent, trademark, and design industries' (Howkins, 2001: xiii). This equation of creativity with intellectual property would seem to be totally indifferent to other cultural understandings of the economy, where the mechanisms of markets and trading practices may be mediated by the communitarian values of generosity, altruism, and sharing. These values complicate the neo-classical premises of economics regulating the transactions of everyday life cultures. Indeed, without this melding of cultural values and economic mechanisms, as I will demonstrate in the course of this chapter, a vast body of cultural expressions and rituals from diverse cultures in the global 'South' could not have survived over the years. In the process, the livelihoods of artisan communities and subaltern artists from the most downtrodden sectors of society would have been seriously jeopardized.

It is necessary, therefore, to keep in mind that while the emergence of the 'creative economy' discourse goes back barely to the late 1990s, symptomatic of neo-liberal global capitalism and market-friendly New Labour policies, the temporalities of creativity encompass a much vaster history of time. I will provide a few glimpses of those creative practices whose legacies go back hundreds of years, testifying to the truism that 'living traditions' have fairly resilient economies or else they could not have survived and grown over the years.

While highlighting the endurance, reinvention and altered manifestations of traditional practices in the cultures of everyday life, I will also attempt to stretch their assumptions of creativity in relation to the more pragmatic possibilities of commodification and innovation. My purpose is not to demonize the commercial or marketing propensities of the creative economy, but to question their viability at material and social levels. Arguably, the mandate of the creative industries has not been fulfilled, and its attempt to formulate a 'policy', as pointed out by Andrew Ross, has been 'mercurial' rather than sustainable:

> *The carefully packaged policy of creative industries will not generate jobs; it is a recipe for magnifying patterns of class polarization; its function as a cover for the corporate intellectual property grab will become all too apparent; its urban development focus will price out the very creatives on whose labour it depends; its reliance on self-promoting rhetoric runs far in advance of its proven impact; its cookie-cutter approach to economic development does violence to regional specificity; its adoption of an instrumental value of creativity will cheapen the true worth of artistic creation. (Ross, 2007: 18)*

The systematic failure of the creative industries is substantiated by the even more 'mercurial' transition from 'the rise of the creative class' (Florida, 2002) to the 'flight of the creative class' (Florida, 2005), all in a matter of three years. Richard Florida's predictions indicate the ephemerality of this 'class', even as the statistical evidence of so-called 'creative cities' indicates that rumours of their economic productivity have been grossly exaggerated: the European Commission's evaluation of 29 Cities of Culture discloses that 'their principal goal – economic growth stimulated by the public subvention of culture to renew failed cities – has itself failed' (Miller, 2007: 45). Even if these cities do manage to generate more jobs as Andrew Ross candidly points out, the 'polarization of city life between affluent cores and low-income margins' (Ross, 2007: 28) can only intensify. Florida's euphoric notion of creativity as 'everyone's natural asset to exploit' (2007: 28) is proving to be thoroughly unproductive and may even disappear in due course just as the bubble of the New Economy promoted by the advocates of New Labour in Britain has already burst.

Instead of pursuing this critique of the creative industries and economy,[2] my purpose in this chapter is to focus attention on the alternative paradigms of creativity to be found in so-called 'traditional' sectors of everyday life cultures in the 'South'. As we will discover, the 'traditional' can also be deeply contemporary, not only in its registers of

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resistance to an obligatory globalization but also in its potentially disruptive and subversive affirmation of value-systems which counter the assumptions of the creative economy. Let me emphasize that I look upon this economy not as a threat but as a necessary provocation which compels me to be more circumspect about what I assume by 'creativity' in the first place.

Complicating the epistemologies of creativity

If one acknowledges that creativity is not an essentialized quality, or immutable property, but is better regarded as a faculty of imagination which catalyzes a process of interactions, we would still be relying on a thoroughly nebulous notion of creativity. The rigor in articulating creativity can begin to emerge only when this 'process of interactions' is contextualized within the specific *disciplinary* procedures of the arts, encompassing components like training, transmission, technique, and conditions of work, among other factors that go into the production and reception of any work of art. While these components appear to be abstract, they gain very concrete, if not tangible, manifestations within the *vocabulary* and *grammar* of specific disciplines. To spell out my position more clearly, the creativity of a musician – and not just any musician, but, let's say, a cellist – would need to be recognized and accounted for in ways that would be quite significantly different from, say, that of a poet or potter or video artist. The terminology of art practices is, more often than not, a highly honed and textured field of critical discriminations which facilitates the evaluation of the creativity in question. This precision can border on the prescriptive, as we will examine later.

Let me provide at this point some evidence of the 'texturality' of creativity, drawing on my own affiliation to the performing arts. For my evidence, I turn to a few creative categories from the ancient Indian tract of the *Natyasastra* (circa first century BC–second century AD), one of the earliest encyclopedias of performance in the world. What concerns me here are not the minutiae of technicality relating to the micro-movements of eyes, neck, chest, hands, hips, legs, feet, down to the most infinitesimal signs of psychophysical expressivity. The terminological virtuosity of the *Natyasastra* in Sanskrit would be somewhat out of place in this chapter; it would also be misleading because the sheer knowledge of all these hundreds of movements and micro-movements does not necessarily ensure the 'creativity' of the performance. Rattling off the minute categories can be an act of pedantry, but where creativity counts is in the actual *embodiment* or *expression* of these movements. Therefore, while the fingers in one hand or both can be positioned in any number of combinations to create *hastas* (hand-gestures), denoting a vista of objects and phenomena and emotional registers, it is *hasta-prana* which makes the gestures come alive through the infusion of breath (*prana*). (In a sense, this is not very different from that excruciatingly beautiful line attributed to Emily Dickinson when she asked, 'Do my poems breathe?')

In this embodiment of emotions through breath, one is alerted to the enormously subtle, if not evanescent dimensions of creative expression in performance. Even when dealing with the practicalities of dramaturgical structure, it is telling how the primary ingredients of creativity appear to be elusive, beginning with *kama* (desire), *bija* (seed), and *bindu* (drop), which dilate and catalyze a chemistry of actions constituting the plot of the play. This play, however, only begins to make sense when the entire process is received – or more specifically *tasted* – by the spectators through the experience of *rasa* (literally, 'juice'). I realize that I am merely sketching the mutations of one of the most complex aesthetic categories from the Indian subcontinent, but for my purpose here, I would stress that creativity is not an *inherent* category, but more of a *relational process* in which the thing perceived is shared through a transpersonal exchange and abstraction of emotions.

Who shares? Is it the actor or the spectator or both? Or some other third entity that emerges out of the imaginary of the experience in which the actor, character, fictional situation, reception, and the suspended historical moment of time, are all immersed in one transcendent moment of bliss? While the philosophical intricacy of such questions cannot be answered within the framework of this chapter, they indicate that creativity is not just the agency of the so-called creator, it also encompasses the capacity to receive – and induce – the process of creativity through the imaginative inputs of the spectator/listener.

Creativity is, therefore, a deeply participatory process, which at one level can be linked to the

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more current vogue for 'interactivity', as in video games (one of the most lucrative multi-billion products of the creative industries). The difference, however, is that the images of the video game, more often than not linked to raging battles and galactic missiles in outer space or terrorist zones, have already been created by the designer(s), whose creativity is patented and branded. While these images can be manipulated by the reflexes of those who are playing the game, the images themselves are already fixed, though reassembled, quite unlike the emotions and sensations shared in the exchange of *rasa* which are not spelled out in advance. Rather, they can exist only in the process of their evolution in an imaginary space, where the pleasure of the aesthetic experience is at once 'disciplined' and 'trained' through specific protocols, and yet free of these constraints in the actual moment of enjoyment.

The problem of exclusivity

Returning to my broader purpose of attempting to assess the modalities of creativity in the contemporary world, I would acknowledge that there are at least two difficulties with the invocation of *rasa* (or, other such traditional aesthetic categories like *hana*, or 'flower', as formulated by Zeami in the context of Noh theatre). One problem could be that these categories are far too refined and, almost inevitably, they are at once exclusionary and exclusivist. They demand specific modes of enculturation which are, more often than not, linked to the privileges of class and a particular education of the senses. Representing a more heightened form of 'distinction' than Bourdieu (1984) could have imagined in his examination of social and cultural capital in a predominantly bourgeois milieu, one should acknowledge that the acquisition of *rasa* (as a discourse rather than a lived practice) can result in a brahmanical assertion of cultural supremacy, which exudes violence in its regimentation of the senses passing as authentically 'Indian'.

One caveat needs to be added here to qualify the argument. Exclusivity, I would argue, is not the domain of traditional aesthetics alone. Indeed, it can exist in all kinds of liberal modes and forms of creative assertion, exemplifying a plurality of lifestyles and democratic interaction with other cultures and ethnicities. What, indeed, could be more exclusivist than the notion of a 'creative class'? Despite his pitch for the innovation of new modes of living and generating capital, Richard Florida ultimately lands up asserting one of the most emphatic categories by which people are differentiated and divided: 'class'. Only his criteria are a lot less exacting than those of Marx. Not only does he have no difficulty in restricting this class to 38 million metropolitan Americans, including architects, doctors, lawyers, and engineers, among other professionals who share some nebulous 'creative' affinities to artists, he also hypothesizes his theory on the basis of geographical proximities between metropolitan gay life-styles and wealth-generating creative innovations. It is a sad reflection of the neo-liberal state of our times that an ostensibly gay-friendly and pluralist approach to culture should rest on unsubstantiated differences between those gays who are willy-nilly 'creative' because they live in cool cities like San Francisco, while their counterparts in Kansas City or Poughkeepsie lie *ipso facto* outside the purview of creativity. Both in terms of the politics of sexuality and the equations between sexuality and economics, this theory is frightfully thin.

Having acknowledged that the problem of exclusivity does not have to be restricted to traditional contexts of knowledge, let us now spell out yet another difficulty in invoking categories like *rasa* within the context of creativity in our time. It could be argued that creativity cannot be confined to those art practices which have defined disciplinary procedures, as I have argued earlier. What about those acts of creativity that remain *unrecognized*, embedded in the *habitus* of everyday life, where there is no necessary cognizance or recognition of actions relating to cooking, dressing, washing, ritual worship, and the nurturing of children and old people? Are these actions, the outcomes of deeply internalized modes of enculturation, to be automatically relegated to the domain of 'the social'? And is the social to be equated with the necessities of the functional and the communicative, as opposed to the gratuitous benefits of the creative? Such dichotomies are untenable, as will become evident later, in my description of one particular traditional cultural practice. Before doing so, let me further complicate the thrust of my argument by posing the reverse problematic of exclusivity: namely, the ubiquity of creativity as a universal human resource.

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The problem of pseudo-democracy

If the exclusionary dimensions of creativity should compel us to be more critically vigilant of its larger democratic access, it is equally necessary not to automatically uphold the reverse position that 'everyone is creative', which amounts to a kind of pseudo-democratic position. And yet, this is precisely the assumption underlying a Green Paper (April 2001) put forward by the British government's Department of Culture, Media and Sport in its advocacy of 'creative industries'. While the mantra of 'everyone is creative' could be rejected outright for its self-serving rhetoric in making all citizens appear to be equal contributors to the national economy,[3] it would be useful to juxtapose its hype with a statement that would appear to be similar, even though its context is radically different. I am referring to the much-quoted statement by Joseph Beuys, one of the most prominent German political artists of the late twentieth century, who in one of his many discursive reflections on art practice had suggested the potentiality that 'every human being is an artist' (Harlan, 2004: 2). At first glance, it would seem that Beuys is merely echoing the rhetoric of New Labour, playing into populist notions of access and non-hierarchical and non-qualitative assessments of the social instrumentalization of art. However, this would be a serious distortion of Beuys's position, which can be more accurately assessed through a scrutiny of his practice and politics.

If 'every human being is [potentially] an artist', this cannot be assumed or legislated outside the actual *practice* in which the economy of artistic form has to emerge through engagements with materiality, ecology, public discourse, and political engagement. For Beuys, this engagement demanded nothing less than an unsparing opposition to the capitalist mode of production in which the cultures of everyday life are cosmeticized and reduced to consumerist banality. In one of his many measured yet radical statements, drawn out of conversations with the public which he regarded as part of his art practice, Beuys said:

> *The concept of economic growth and the concept of capital and all that goes with it, does not really make the world productive. No, the concept of art must replace the degenerate concept of capital. Art is really tangible capital, and people need to become aware of this … [C]apital is human dignity and creativity. And so, in keeping with this, we need to develop a concept of money that allows creativity, or art, so to speak, to be capital. Art is capital. This is not some pipe dream; it is a reality. In other words, capital is what art is. Capital is human capacity and what flows from it. (2004: 27)*

The uncompromising tenor of these reflections, and their immersion in an anti-capitalist ideology, which does not stop Beuys from countering another notion of art as capital, is as removed from the slippery rhetoric of Cool Britannia as one can possibly imagine.

While it is not possible here to provide a detailed inventory of Beuys's art practice, which could demonstrate how his politics was actually embodied in his 'social sculpture' (or 'expanded conception of art'), suffice it to say that his alchemical use of substances like wax, fat, felt, bone, copper, fossils, and his active ecological practice in the planting of '7,000 oak trees', along with his blackboard drawings in public forums, provide one of the most exacting, if idiosyncratic, examples of how the so-called 'ordinariness' of culture, as evoked by Raymond Williams, can mobilize 'warmth' (Beuys, 2004). 'Warmth', not in the psychological sense of conviviality and bonding, now fetishized in the much-hyped experiments in 'relational aesthetics' (Bourriaud, 2002) in established museums. For Beuys, warmth is made of sterner stuff and has a profoundly social dimension as well as a spiritual propensity in its capacity to incorporate the world within one's own self-transformative capacities.

This process of self-transformation is achieved primarily through the dynamics of seeing whereby the phenomenon being observed is 'inhabited' by the observer, who lives its 'activity' and 'interconnections', creating an 'inner image of what has been observed' (Sacks, 2007: 1). Through the process of creating an inner image, the self is transformed at perceptual levels which defy the discursive strictures of the 'creative industries' and the 'creative economy'. What is missing in these new assertions of creativity is a theory of seeing in relation to the 'inner space of perception and imagination' (2007: 1). One may not have the courage to affirm the act of seeing quite so unequivocally as Beuys does, but it underlies his advocacy of 'human dignity and creativity' in his celebration of 'art as capital' (2004: 27). While his vision remains

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intransigent, it provides alternative points of reference which enable us to work against the grain of the pseudo-democratic platitude that 'everyone is creative'.

Three principles of creativity

Having outlined some concepts of creativity punctured by counter-references to the creative economy, I would now like to highlight three principles of creativity grounded in the cultures of everyday life through a focus on one particular practice: traditional floor-drawing. This practice is so widespread and commonplace in different parts of India that its creativity is not even acknowledged. Certainly, it attracts far less attention than the contemporary pavement drawings that one is likely to come across on city streets, where some itinerant pavement-artist sketches the figure of a god or a film hero in chalk. While this form of site-specific, freestyle sketching could be regarded as subaltern art, traditional floor-drawings are more likely to be regarded as part of a household routine. Almost exclusively performed by women, they are to be found outside the threshold of homes, where the floor is cleaned and then sprinkled with rice-flour, which is used to create an infinite number of geometric, floral, iconographic, and decorative patterns. The entire process, which can be completed in a matter of a few minutes, with matter-of-fact and apparently improvized gestures, has no other ritual purpose apart from providing a touch of positive energy to the household by warding away evil spirits.

While the floor-drawings used in everyday household contexts are identified differently in various regions of India – *kolam* (Tamil Nadu), *kalam* (Kerala), *alpana* (West Bengal), *rangoli* (North India) – the fundamental 'creativity' of this everyday cultural practice can be attributed to the tension between the intentionality of the practitioner and the 'self-generative capacity' of the floor-drawing's form as it evolves in actual practice (Mall, 2006: 74). This evolution is as much an expression of a deeply internalized body-memory of previously learned or copied patterns, as it is a response to the *unpredictability* of the form as it emerges through a flow of dexterous gestures, occasional mistakes and visual surprises (2006: 74).

In this chapter, I will not be focusing on the phenomenology of floor-drawing in which creativity is at once captured and embodied. Rather, I will concentrate on a far more elaborate ritual performance tradition from the southwestern state of Kerala called *kalamezhutu pattu* or *kalam pattu* in which a large-scale *kalam* (floor-drawing) of a deity is made not by household women but by particular castes of artisans, notably the Mannaan from the low-caste Harijan community.[4] The crucial point that needs to be emphasized is that the artistic creativity in question is not linked to an individual artist, but to a specific community which earns its livelihood through the perpetuation of this practice. In this regard, the category of 'cultural expression', as defined by the editors of this volume, could be regarded as appropriate for the *kalam*, in so far as it evokes a 'collective project' incorporating multiple inputs at the level of community. More precisely, given the religious dimensions surrounding the worship of the *kalam*, the expressivity in question operates at both 'material and immaterial' levels.

I will not be describing here how the *kalam* is made after hours of painstaking labour, in which the body and visage of the goddess Bhagawathy or Bhadrakali (the auspicious and ferocious aspects of the goddess Devi, respectively) emerge out of the earth in an intricate filigree of five vibrant colours – red, black, white, yellow, and green. Nor will I be providing a detailed contextual background relating to the rituals, songs, chants, invocation of the goddess, and oracular transmission of messages by which the *kalam* is worshipped as an offering (*vazhivadu*) by the family or temple sponsoring the performance. What does concern me here, however, is the crucial moment in the final stage of the ritual performance when the *kalam* is *erased*, generally by the oracle or ritual attendant who dances on the floor-drawing and wipes the goddess away with his stamping feet and occasionally frenzied movements. It is out of this void, an empty space, which is all that remains of the *kalam*, that I would like to draw out some principles which seem crucial to my understanding of creativity in contradistinction to the tenets of the creative economy.

1. Impermanence

First of all, it becomes necessary to focus on the implications of *impermanence* as a creative principle. When the *kalam* is erased, nothing remains of

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its original form beyond the traces of colour smeared on the floor. These traces are collected by the spectators and smeared on their foreheads as *Prasad*, indicating their physical imbibing of the sacred presence in the ritual. Beyond these traces there is no object, sign, or artistic signature that remains, which leaves open the critical question of whether the *kalam* can be regarded as a commodity. Certainly, if one had to follow the traditional Marxist definition of commodity as 'a product intended principally for exchange' within 'the institutional, psychological and economic conditions of capitalism' (Appadurai, 1986: 6), then the *kalam* is neither an instance of decommodification nor anti-commodification. Rather, in its inability to be bought or sold through the very dissolution of its materiality, it would seem to exist outside the logic of commodification altogether.

This argument, however, could be complicated by other processual readings of commodity, which leave open the possibilities of objects 'moving both into and out of the commodity state' (Kopytoff, 1986, cited in Appadurai, 1986: 17). This fluidity informs postmodern readings of commodity, which are determined neither by the material concreteness nor the price of the commodity, but rather by its potentiality for exchange in *situations* in which 'its exchangeability (past, present, or future) for some other thing is its socially relevant feature' (Appadurai, 1986: 13). In this imagined state of perpetual mobility, the commodity is identified and discriminated not as 'one kind of thing rather than another' but rather as 'one *phase* in the life of some things' (1986: 17). While I will leave open the 'commodity potential' of the *kalam*, which I will discuss later within the hypothesis of a reinvented design, I would nonetheless claim that the *kalam* in its traditional ritual context does not readily lend itself either to the idea or practice of commodity precisely because it does not conform to the principles of 'exchange' at a material level.

The only transaction that does take place in the course of this offering is, at best, symbolic, in so far as the sponsors of the *kalam* pay for its performance in order to receive favours from the gods. However, there can be no unequivocal guarantee that their desires will be granted beyond the reassurances of the oracle. One should also keep in mind that the *kalam* is not just an opportunity for wish-fulfillment but an act of gratitude for favours already received, which rules out the necessity of a clearly defined 'exchange'. Offerings can be unidirectional in their focus and intensity.

However, this premise opens up the possibility of whether the *kalam* would not be more appropriately defined as a 'gift', which is the term that is constantly countered in relation to 'commodity', at times with unproductive results. Here there is a growing literature with at least two diametrically opposed readings of the gift: those that favour the belief that it is non-returnable, as exemplified in Derrida's eloquent exhortation that 'there must be no reciprocity, return, exchange, countergift, or debt. If the other *gives* me *back* or *owes* me or has to give me back what I give him or her, there will not have been a gift' (Derrida, 1992: 12, cited in Frow, 1997: 107). Against this assertion of non-reciprocity, there is the more coercive view emphasized by the master theoretician of the gift, Marcel Mauss (1967), for whom 'there is no gift without bond, without bind, without obligation or ligature' (Frow, 1997: 108). If one had to link the *kalam* to the Derridean perspective of 'the first gift', then one would have to qualify that it is not 'purely gratuitous, non-reciprocal and atemporal' (1997: 108), but, on the other hand, if we had to link it to Mauss's somewhat more paradoxical perspective on the gift, one would have to resist the reduction of the entire *kalam* performance to a deliberately calculative and strategic act, despite the intentionality underlying the sponsorship of the performance. Certainly, the upper-caste sponsors of any *kalam* stand to enhance their cultural and spiritual capital and social prestige through the sponsorship of the performance, but these benefits would need to be seen in the context of self-gratification rather than exchange.

Returning to the motif of impermanence, but problematizing it in a somewhat different direction from the gift/commodity debate, it could be argued that the 'invisible' and non-material dimensions of knowledge traditions are not necessarily divested of economic value. Indeed, the knowledge component of the creative economy is deeply invested in the future, *in what does not as yet exist*, which could include unknown enzymes, genes, and software. The fact that these phenomena have yet to be discovered or invented does not stop them from being patented in their embryonic states.

This investment in the future, or more precisely, the domain of the Not-Yet, needs to be contrasted with the *kalam's* deep investment in the Now, in which all times (past, present, and future) coalesce.[5]

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The impermanence of the *kalam*, therefore, has to be linked not to an invisible future, but to a vanishing present, which is consciously erased even after it has been brought into fruition. There is a different temporality at work here, which compels one to differentiate between the multitudinous instants of creativity which suggest an 'eternal time', and the more pragmatic, long-term investments of the cultural economy which more often than not disappear into evanescence or crash out of existence.

2. Ecology

The second principle of creativity that I would like to draw out of the example of the *kalam* concerns its *ecological* foundations. Indeed, the colours that enhance the *kalam*'*s* vibrant form are made out of natural substances: rice powder (white), burned rice husk (black), turmeric powder (yellow), powdered dry leaves (green), and a mixture of turmeric powder and lime (red). When the *kalam* is erased, these natural substances are returned to the earth, providing an unobtrusive yet concrete example of ecological art, which is now being explored by many metropolitan artists through different methods of disintegration and self-destruction in the creation of fragile installations, and the use of perishable materials in art works. These experiments, however, continue to be on the margins of the art world, which defines its capital more assertively than ever before through what is visible and permanent. The technologies feeding the 'mechanical reproduction' of art in the age of globalization have far exceeded what was available in Walter Benjamin's time. Today the original art work gains additional market value through the surfeit of discursive and media representations that surround its replication through the catalogue, the poster, the website, CDs and DVDs – apart from the obligatory invitation card specially designed for the opening party of the exhibition.

If the art market would appear to disdain the less lucrative path of ecology, it is because 'alternative' activist experiments in this field have yet to be adequately projected. Far outdoing the art world in this regard is the thriving business of eco-friendly products in the cosmetics industry, along with other modes of pampering the body through holistic massage services and Ayurveda, in addition to the spa- and resort-related pleasures of eco-tourism and yoga retreats. Tellingly, the state of Kerala is at once the site for the non-commercial, predominantly ritual practice of the *kalam*, as well as the headquarters of the Ayurveda industry. Cashing in on 'knowledge *about* commodities' which is itself 'increasingly commoditized' according to a global 'traffic in criteria' (Appadurai, 1986: 54), the promoters of Ayurveda in Kerala have capitalized on 'innovations' of traditional health systems ostensibly re-designed to suit New Age lifestyles. However, these innovations can never afford to ignore the lure – and competitive economic value – of 'authenticity', which is subjected to what Appadurai has described as a 'complication of criteria' (1986: 45). Hence, the 'prestige economies of the modern West' can be guaranteed '100% traditional Ayurvedic massage' but with all the amenities of a luxurious spa thrown in as part of the deal, including subliminal erotic pleasures.

While the repackaging of traditional modes of expertise, spurious or otherwise, is part of the marketing game, what is harder to accept is the glib use of 'ecology' in the discourse of the creative economy where there is no demonstrable evidence of any altered mode of cultural production or distribution. Such is the case with the so-called 'revitalization of city landscapes' (Scott, 2008) through a proliferation of 'new shopping malls, restaurants, cafes, clubs, theaters, galleries, boutiques', the obligatory manifestations of the hedonistic logic upheld by the creative class. However, this is not an adequate explanation, as the following passage reveals:

> *When the landscape develops in this manner, significant portions of the city (though rarely, if ever, all portions) start to function as* an ecology of commodified symbolic production and consumption*, in which, and in contrast to the classical industrial metropolis, the functions of leisure and work seem to be converging to some sort of (historically-specific)* social equilibrium*. Even advertising becomes part of the general* spectacle *that is one of the important ingredients of this* ecology*. (Scott, 2008: 314, my emphasis)*

Indeed, one is hard pressed to understand how 'ecology' can be invoked in such a context without any critical engagement with the energy resources that are surely spent, if not wasted, in the abundance of neon displaying this 'revitalization' of the

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city landscape. The society of the spectacle is not known for its economy of resources.

More critically, one wonders how ecology can be inserted into this valorization of the cultural economy without any consideration of the social consequences of any gentrification process, in which local inhabitants of particular neighbourhoods are invariably evicted to make room for the lifestyles of the 'creative class'. The pretence of fashionable 'slumming' in formerly derelict and working-class neighbourhoods now sexed up with trendy bars and clubs is scarcely a symptom of revitalization. Indeed, one could argue: revitalization for whom?

Neither can social ecology be equated with the 'social equilibrium' between 'work and leisure' for a particular class, as the passage above emphasizes. If we have to use the word 'ecology' in the context of this economy, then we are compelled to address the very palpable social and economic *disequilibrium* that exists between the 'creative class' and the servicing sectors. It is these disparities that need to be addressed, instead of being camouflaged within the up-market, crime-free, enclaves of liberal surveillance, whereby new gated communities are surrounded by the proliferating hinterlands of the poor.

3. Humility

Against the implicit arrogance of the creative economy, I would emphasize the third creative principle exemplified by the *kalam*: humility. I realize that there are possible misperceptions in such a dichotomy of values, which would seem to play into the reductionism which Appadurai so rightly warns against in 'the tendency to romanticize small-scale societies; to conflate use-value (in Marx's sense) with the *gemeinschaft* (in Toennies's sense)' (1986: 11). Indeed, one does need to be on the alert in order to highlight 'the calculative, impersonal and self-aggrandizing features of non-capitalist' societies, which is Appadurai's predilection (1986: 11). At the same time I would argue that the 'calculative dimension' (1986: 13) cannot be imposed as the only valid way of reading human and cultural interactions within these societies. Indeed, in a more conciliatory register, Appadurai does acknowledge Kopytoff's somewhat broader perspective of 'a perennial and universal tug-of-war between the tendency of all economies to expand the jurisdiction of commoditization and of all cultures to restrict it' (1986: 17). This 'tug-of-war' raises the critical question of 'the extent to which the logic of the "cultural" is able to restrict the logic of the economic; and of the possibilities of movement out of the commodity state' (Frow, 1997: 144). Furthermore, as John Frow pushes the question into an even more precise problematic: 'To what extent … can cognitive, ethical, affective, and aesthetic processes resist commodification? ... And what sort of value judgment should be made of these processes?' (1997: 144–5).

In response to these questions, let me qualify that when I invoke humility as a creative value within the framework of the *kalam*, I am not referring to it as a moral virtue, as if all the custodians of the production and performance of the *kalam* are intrinsically good and simple people uncontaminated by the realities of modern life. This would amount to a caricature of the context being described. On the contrary, I would argue that the practice of the *kalam* is inserted into modern life, within a specific space–time continuum, and that it answers the psychological and social needs of people facing the pressures of everyday life. Furthermore, I would acknowledge a dimension of social power upheld by the upper-caste hegemony that continues to patronize the practice of the *kalam* with the support of predominantly low-caste artisans. In other words, even though the *kalam* is a 'traditional' practice in so far as it has a long legacy of conventions and rituals with 'religious' significance, it can in no way be regarded as antithetical to modernity. Rather, it is inscribed within modernity whose dominant values are implicitly questioned, even as they are not directly opposed.

Humility in the context of the *kalam* is better understood not in the context of morality but in its denial of authorship and ownership. Nobody *owns* the *kalam*; it *belongs* to all those who participate in its production and performance, including the bystanders, onlookers and spectators who may assemble to see its performance with no caste restrictions whatsoever. This compels one to open the modalities of *belonging* as opposed to *ownership*, a distinction that is almost totally absent in the discourse of the creative economy. One could push the point further by focusing on 'collective belonging' as opposed to individual spectatorship and critical scrutiny. What is the place for such belonging in the mechanisms of the creative economy, which

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have themselves been decisively challenged through new affirmations of the creative commons, if not an abolition of copyright altogether?

Finally, in unearthing the inner values of the *kalam*, one is compelled to open its dimensions of the spiritual and the sacred as opposed to the institutionally and contextually bound rules and regulations of religious practice. These dimensions call into question the implicit secularity underlying the logic of the market outside its religious inflections in certain Islamic contexts of finance and banking. As an offering to the deity, the *kalam* submits to a reality that is larger than the efforts that go into the materiality of its production. This scenario inevitably opens up metaphysical values relating to 'worship' and 'sacrifice' which do not readily enter the predominantly acquisitive and competitive priorities of the creative economy.[6] On the other hand, it could also be argued that the dimensions of the sacred are not entirely immune to the possibilities of commodification, as we shall examine in the following section within the larger framework of re-inventing traditions through processes of innovation.

Innovating tradition

'Innovation' has become the symbiotic catch-word for 'creativity', particularly in the rhetoric surrounding the creative economy and other management-related sectors of the arts. It would seem that if you're not innovative, your creativity is not of much use. Drawing on the proliferation of new technologies available for artistic practices in the age of globalization, the editors of this volume call attention to the truism that, 'Market-driven phenomena may well be creating new figures of the symbol creator as a "motor of innovation" and altering the profile of the "creative subject".' And yet, there are some rash assumptions in assuming that innovation inevitably has to *follow* creativity, which would seem to deny the fact that all artistic practices are constantly in the process of innovating their rules and regulations. How else would they remain alive and capture attention through the dynamics of surprise? Perhaps one needs to accept that the valorization of 'innovation' in recent cultural theory has less to do with the inner mutations of artistic and cultural practice, and more to do with an extrinsic, self-conscious manipulation of particular practices in relation to both marketing demands and the relentless search for curiosity and novelty in the public sphere.

From the encapsulation of the three principles – impermanence, ecology, and humility – which I have extrapolated from the *kalam*, problematizing their premises both within and against the capitalist logic of the creative economy, it could be argued that, despite all my qualifications, my position remains idealistic, if not utopian. As much as I have tried to argue against the reduction of the *kalam* to some esoteric folklore steeped in the rituals of the past, I realize that it is bound to seem somewhat quaint and economically counter-productive in relation to the glitz and financial power of, say, Bollywood and Twenty20 cricket, two of the most lucrative manifestations of the creative industries in the Indian context today. The latter refers to the new version of superfast cricket in 20 overs which has been blatantly constructed as spectacular entertainment, sponsored by liquor barons and some of Bollywood's biggest stars. Sold both as 'live performance' and prime-time TV, cricket has now been 're-invented' within a larger spectacle of fireworks, gymnastics, stunts, dance performances, and even imported cheer-leaders.

Keeping the sheer innovation of this hybrid Bollywood–cricket entertainment model in mind, one could be challenged into imagining more commercially lucrative avatars of the *kalam*. For instance, one could think of a 'designer-*kalam*', with all the computerized software and technology that India is now capable of displaying, with a virtuoso play of laser lights and digitalized sound effects. This innovation could look appropriately exotic, yet 'cool', in the precincts of a 5-star hotel lobby, exuding the aura of some New Age Orient. Needless to say, unlike its traditional counterpart, the 'erasure' of this 'designer-*kalam*' is not likely to be prioritized because the costs of production would be too extravagant to be wished away. Likewise, the expertise of traditional artisans is entirely expendable because this high-tech *kalam* would demand significantly different skills, if not a totally different conceptual orientation and aesthetics.

While my hypothesis of a designer-*kalam* may seem cynical, I should emphasize that I am not arguing against either commodification or innovation. In principle, it would be both counterproductive and unrealistic to imagine that so-called traditional cultural practices are incapable of transgressing their boundaries or that they are somehow ethically

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and morally resistant to the global economy. This is clearly not the position voiced by many traditional artisans and performers who want to be part of a more established modern and global circuit.[7] Drawing on the commercial success of Aboriginal dot-paintings reinvented through the introduction of acrylic paint, for instance, John Frow is clearly on target when he questions the pertinence of conservationist positions: 'Is the commodity form necessarily and always less humanly beneficial than non-commodified use values, and is its historical extension necessarily and under all circumstances a change for the worse?' (1997: 136). I would argue that any absolutist position in restricting the mobility and transformation of non-commercial traditional cultures into commodified forms needs to be opposed. At the same time I would qualify that there are certain contexts and particular circumstances in which the transition of these practices into the market economy cannot be readily assumed or endorsed.

Having acknowledged the ambivalence posed by the processes of commodification, let me provide a vibrant example of the 'invention of tradition' (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) through *innovation*, which contributes enormously to the regional cultural economy of West Bengal in India. I have in mind the sculpturesque effigies (*murti*) of the goddess Durga in the public celebration of the *pujas* (religious worship) on the streets of Calcutta, which are now subject to all kinds of experiments and innovations in material and design (Bose, 1997; Guha-Thakurta, 2004). Earlier the effigies were made out of clay with a very precise traditional iconography mastered by the legendary artisans of Kumartuli, a cultural district in Calcutta where these artisans have lived for generations. Today, however, some of the younger artisans of this community have been exposed to modern notions of art education, and along with a growing number of self-perceived 'designers' who have graduated from the Government College of Art in Calcutta, have embarked on different experiments in re-inventing the goddess. Apart from clay, she can now be sculpted in terracotta and slate stone, and her styles of representation can be inspired by anything from Mughal miniatures and Madhubani painting to Kerala-inspired dance poses and Kalighat *pats* (folk paintings) (Guha-Thakurta, 2004: 34–56).

Even more 'innovative' are the *pandals* (pavilions) enclosing the goddess, some of which have been made of sugar-cane and broken gramophone records, emulating all kinds of grand edifices from the Calcutta High Court to the famous Buddhist *stupa* of Sanchi (Guha-Thakurta, 2004: 35–6). These spectacular enclosures have acquired all the virtuosity and secular entertainment value of theme-parks, which form the primary motif around which Tapati Guha-Thakurta has envisioned the new manifestations of the *puja*. However, there is not one mega theme for the *pujas*, but multiple themes which are the brainwaves of *puja* committees, which form the nucleus of local neighbourhoods in and around Calcutta. Along with national issues like the communal genocide in Gujarat, or local events like the mauling of a drunk man by a tiger in the Calcutta zoo, the themes for the *pujas* draw on the most alluring global icons, including the *Titanic*, the Bamiyan Buddhas, Princess Diana, and even Harry Potter (whose visual representation within a Disneyland version of Hogwarts Castle in a *puja pandal* was subjected to a law suit by Warner Brothers because of an alleged breach of copyright).[8] It becomes clear from such examples that the local imaginary is more than ready to absorb global resources, controversies, and stimuli. The question remains, as in the case of the Harry Potter episode, whether global corporations are as ready to support the localization of their brands with generosity and humour, instead of holding on to the mercenary and mean-spirited norms of 'intellectual property'.

Despite the re-invention of the spectacle of the *pujas*, whose secularization has been intensified through local corporate support and the shopping frenzy that enormously boosts the sales of clothing, food, sweets, gift items, cosmetics, and electronics (Ghosh, 2006), what needs to be kept in mind is that the goddess Durga continues to be ritually immersed at the end of the *pujas*, not unlike the *kalam* which is erased. This continued adherence to ritual practice whereby the goddess is returned to her heavenly abode needs to be kept in mind in order to work against the somewhat too unproblematized transformation of the *puja* into secular festivity and the equation of the *pandals* with heterotopias, divested of religious or spiritual dimensions.[9]

At a museological level as well, which is yet another form of secularization along with the market forces, one should keep in mind that only a few established artists in Bengal have succeeded in

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museumizing the goddess in a permanent abode, though this practice is more evident abroad than in India itself (Guha-Thakurta, 2007). Ironically, the zeal in authenticating the 'purity' of the Durga image is more likely to be found outside India rather than in Bengal itself. The agencies of authentication abroad would include NRBs (Non-Resident Bengalis), whose diasporic zeal in holding on to rituals of their childhood, imagined or real, contributes to the perpetuation of traditional iconography in a nostalgic mode. A more self-conscious mode of authentication, however, has been perpetuated by coteries of Euro-American curators, whose affirmation of religiosity in the secular space of established museums has been legitimized as a means of countering the colonial episteme of museology. New modes of recontextualizing non-Western religious and cultural artefacts are now offered as alternative modes of worship in the museum space.[10]

While acknowledging these innovations in what could be called the 'god industry', I would caution against the valorization of *all* tradition-inspired innovations as 'creative' in opposition to those traditional practices which may not be consciously innovative at all. Indeed, the absence of innovation does not imply that traditions are necessarily fossilized because they can continue to grow *within* deeply internalized rules and regulations, not unlike the *kalam* which continues to be improvised within set patterns. Indeed, there is a danger in capitalizing on innovation through its compatibility with the larger global cultural discourse relating to hybridity, pastiche, kitsch, and public culture. The fact that a traditional cultural practice on the lines of the *kalam* may *not* necessarily imbibe the global through innovations, either in terms of its marketing or reinvented aesthetics, should not be seen as an anachronistic aberration. Rather, I would like to highlight both the flexibility and adaptability of local cultural practices as well as their intransigence and resistance to glib translation. Even as I would leave open the possibilities of their collaboration with national and global agencies, I would also value their right to negotiate creativity on their own terms within their own contexts.

Rethinking cultural policy through creativity

Drawing some broader lessons from the *kalam* in relation to the increasingly vexed and bureaucratized field of policy making, I would urge a greater sensitization towards the visceral, sensuous and spiritual dimensions of creativity. Let us acknowledge that these dimensions cannot be measured in purely economic terms, which doesn't mean that the absence of distinct standards of measurement should be regarded as the *sine qua non* of authentic creativity. On the contrary, it would be disingenuous to deny that the most market-driven cultural phenomena like blockbuster movies or Broadway musicals can be creative in their own right. The point is that not every manifestation of creativity can be placed on the same scale and measured according to fixed criteria. The economic dimension is just one among many other criteria of value, which may be elusive, if not unquantifiable.

Nor would I favour an instrumentalist approach towards creativity along the lines of the British creative industries policy of the late 1990s, for the simple reason that there can be no causal relationship made between the experience (and cultural value) of watching a play or listening to music with the social imperatives to remove crime or drug abuse or unemployment. There are very subtle institutional and political mediations that need to be explored between art practice and the possibilities of social transformation, which need to be implemented at concrete levels.

Furthermore, if we are concerned about social transformation outside the narrow matrix of 'problem solving', then we cannot simply relegate the transformative process to something outside ourselves, to those sectors of society which have been categorized as 'undeveloped' or 'marginal'. Rather, the process of transformation has to begin with ourselves through the embodiment of creative energy and the sharing of its processual dynamics through actual acts of social bonding and dialogue. These human interactions are more likely to provide a ground for change in perception and consciousness than the mere articulation of blueprints of 'creative cities'. Recommendations for 'inter-sectoral' collaborations across new systems of 'governance' (Pratt, 2007) would also appear to privilege the already empowered role of policy makers at the expense of benefiting artists and the public more directly.

For policy to be shaped in a more grounded and comprehensive way, yet another consideration needs to be a far greater openness to those locations and sectors of the world's population which do

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not necessarily embrace the cultural values of the metropolitan global cosmopolis. Creativity, in short, is not the prerogative of the city alone, even though it is within this valorized site that 'creative industries' have been expected to thrive within highly funded infrastructures of technology, communications and global serving agencies. Instead of privileging these already media-saturated and overly funded sites, far more attention needs to be given to the regional and rural sectors of any cultural economy, not just in the cultures of the 'South' but also in the marginalized regions of 'developed' nations as well.[11]

Finally, it would be useful if 'creative economists' could acknowledge the numerous local and communitarian economies prevailing in the cultures of the 'South', but also to be found in the non-commercial and non-profit alternative sectors of the 'North' where there are diverse resistances towards monopolistic markets as, for instance, in the recent upsurge of community-related cultural activities and the ubiquitous phenomenon of farmers' markets. Thriving bazaars in Indian cities along with markets of epic proportions in sites like the *mela* (fair) – not just linked to pilgrimages but also to cultural forums representing handicrafts and books – are not exclusively dependent on either the agencies of the state or the market. These local, event-related markets constitute a massive informal economy, which has sustained artists, artisans, and street vendors over the years. Consolidated by communities with a loose network of local organizations, this economy demonstrates a highly interactive mode of independent self-sufficiencies, which is probably one of the closest economic equivalents to what Mahatma Gandhi recognized as *swaraj* ('self-rule').

While it could be argued that a vast body of creative practices in the 'South' are no longer as resilient as the *kalam* – and therefore, a policy for their preservation and the income generation of their custodians becomes mandatory – it is necessary to remember, at the risk of reiterating a massively ignored truism, that the articulation of such a policy should come from the communities themselves. However, in the top-down expertise that marks the rhetoric and legislation of such policies, the considerations of people are invariably erased. This erasure is ruthless compared to that of the *kalam*, which works through cultural consensus and the beauty of a dissolving form. In our search for more context-sensitive policies, therefore, let us remember the *kalam* in its celebration of the immediacies of the Now, constantly dying and ceaselessly renewed, within an endless cycle of creativity.

Notes

1 The categories of 'skill' and 'talent' were specifically linked to 'individual creativity' in the Creative Industries Task Force Mapping Document published by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport in the UK in 1998. Without being defined or discriminated, these creative faculties were identified as contributing towards 'the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property'.

2 One of the most thorough and politically inflected critiques of the 'creative industries' discourse has been provided by Nicholas Garnham (2000, 2005), who points out how its 'ideological power' is directly related to its absence of critical reflexivity. Garnham locates this power in the decisive shift from the state to the market under the Thatcher government, which was further 'accelerated' by Tony Blair's New Labour policies. Under the sign of Cool Britannia, 'creativity' as opposed to 'culture' was prioritized with specific reference to 'the information society', ostensibly benefiting all citizens through its focus on 'access', 'excellence', 'education', and 'economic value'.

3 The ubiquity of 'creativity' under the auspices of New Labour's cultural policy making has received a series of responses from Angela McRobbie (2002, 2004, 2007), with particular reference to youth culture and the fashion industry in Britain. Moving beyond the 'mantra of losses' lamented by the 'Old Left' in terms of declining trade unionism and the cult of apolitical individualism, McRobbie links the 'enforced entrepreneurialism' of the creative industries to 'extraordinary degrees of self-exploitation' in highly 'de-regulated' and 'unprotected' conditions of work. Even while engaging with the possibilities of 'new productive singularities', as posited by Hardt and Negri (2000), the evidence provided by McRobbie would seem to suggest that the cult of creativity has resulted in an intensification of atomism subsumed within the masquerades of pleasure and desire.

4 In addition to the Mannaan community, other ritual practitioners of the *kalam* in Kerala include the Velan, the Malaya, and the Perumannaan, who are all from low-caste communities. In most rituals, the *kalam* is erased by the oracle, who mediates between the actual performance of the *kalam* and the invocation of the goddess. However, in the case of the *pampin kalam*, associated with the serpent worship of the Pulluvan community, two young girls are made to sit on the drawing of the holy serpents whereupon they become 'possessed' and begin to voice oracular predictions. In this state, the girls drag their bodies and roll over the *kalam*, erasing it in the

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